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# Congregational Historical Society

# Transactions

Vol. VIII. No. 1] [FEBRUARY, 1920

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# EDITORIAL

WE much regret that a variety of circumstances—of which the greatly enhanced cost of printing is only one—rendered any issue of "Transactions" during the year 1919 impracticable. We trust subscribers will pardon the delay, and accept the present issue as an instalment of Good Things to Come. We have a large store of material in hand awaiting use; and hope to contribute acceptably to the approaching Tercentenary Commemoration of the historic voyage of the *Mayflower*.

* * * *

We have been favoured with a copy of "The Quarterly Magazine of Bethlehem Royal Hospital" for September, 1919, in which there is appearing a series of papers on "The Registers of Bridewell Chapel," by Rev. E. G. O'Donoghue. This particular issue (Chapter XI) treats of "Congregationalists in Bridewell." The writer's sympathies are undisguisedly with Queen Elizabeth and those who were in authority under her; but he has stated the facts very fairly, and has given prominence to some points that are not always duly borne in mind. He reminds us that intolerance was not all on one side; that there were separatists who denounced conforming puritans as "semi-papists"; and that some of these, while lodged in Bridewell, "held services of the Geneva pattern in the Great Hall without interference." We could wish, however, that he had not *seemed* to acquiesce in the judicial murder of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry.

* * * *

We have read with much interest a small book by Rev. Dr. Nightingale, entitled "From the Great Awakening to the Evangelical Revival." It is the substance of a course of lectures given some time ago in Liverpool; and treats of the course of Religious Life in England from 1520 to 1800. It is *not* a History; but it is a useful *aid* to the study of history; being a serious endeavour to co-ordinate the leading historical facts, presenting them in their true relations, and passing over others which are of real but minor importance. Particularly instructive is the chapter dealing with

the Arian movement in the 18th century, regarding which some prevalent misconceptions are cleared up. The book is especially designed for Study Circles, and its utility is increased by a condensed Bibliography of about 120 titles, and a list of seventy "Points for Examination and Discussion." It is published by the Congregational Union.

* * * *

Dr. Nightingale has also lately produced an interesting life-story entitled "Fidelity to an Ideal: the Story of a Successful Life." The Ideal is that of "Business continuously run to success on high moral lines"; and the author narrates the steady progress, from lowly beginnings to wealth and social eminence, of a friend of his, who consistently acted on the belief that it *is* "possible to make the best of both worlds." Incidentally much is told about Lancashire Congregationalism, with which the family are connected: and—what especially justifies the present notice—we read that in the 16th century one of their ancestors, a magistrate in Suffolk, endeavoured to protect his Puritan and Brownist neighbours from persecution.

* * * *

Congregationalists have not usually favoured set forms of prayer: and there was a time when the public use of a liturgy disqualified for membership in the London Board of Ministers. But several aids to domestic worship have at various times had considerable popularity. Dr. Alexander Fletcher's "Guide to Family Devotion" was in its thirteenth impression in 1851. Dr. John Harris's "Altar of the Household" (1853), and Dr. Joseph Parker's "People's Family Prayer Book" (1889) had a respectable circulation, but each had this serious fault, it bore too much the impress of one man. This error is avoided in "The Altar in the Home," edited by Dr. Garvie and Dr. Nightingale, the material of which is furnished by sixty different contributors. To those who find spiritual help in books of this class, "The Altar in the Home" may be confidently recommended.

## The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

THE halo of romance which encircles the *Mayflower* Pilgrims is apt to obscure our perception of the fact that, like ourselves, they were very human. It may be well to summarize, as briefly as possible, what can be gathered of their personality and mutual relations.

The company which finally set sail were 102 in number, of whom one died at sea; but two children were born on the voyage, so that 103 reached the New England shore. Of these fifty-one were men, nineteen women, twenty-three boys, and ten girls. Fourteen of the men were indentured servants, of whom only four signed the historic "Compact" (perhaps the other ten were minors); four were hired sailors, two of whom signed the Compact, and the other two returned to England after fulfilling their engagement. The "Compact," signed at Cape Cod on 16th November, 1620, received forty-one signatures, all of men. The signatures of the fathers were, no doubt, supposed to cover the allegiance of the sons; and, of course, in 1620, the women did not count in such matters.

Two or three deaths occurred, apparently by accident, in the early days of the colony; and in a few weeks an outbreak of sickness—supposed to have been of the nature of scurvy, the result of unwholesome food—threatened it with extermination. The *Mayflower* set out on its return voyage on 15th April, 1621, and by that time forty-seven deaths had occurred, which number was increased to fifty-two before the arrival of the *Fortune* on the 19th November, 1621.

These consisted of thirty-one men (including eight

of the indentured servants), fourteen women, and seven children. Four families were totally extinguished, and of six others only one representative was left to each. Only four of the mothers survived.

Beside the two sailors already mentioned, two persons (women or girls) returned to England after a short time, but not in the *Mayflower*; and three others (men) returned several years later. Of the original pilgrims, eight bachelors and eight maids married in the colony, as well as three who had become widowers and two widows. Altogether about thirty-five of the company, men and women (marked * in the schedule), left issue; and about 160 persons of their posterity were living in 1650.

The last survivor of the original pilgrims, Mary (Allerton) Cushman, died in 1699; but Peregrine White, "the first Englishman born in America," reached the patriarchal age of eighty-four, and died in 1704.

Tradition persistently affirms that among the passengers in the *Mayflower* were several who were connected either with the Church gathered in London by Henry Jacob in 1616, or with the remnant of "the antient Church" which had been scattered by persecution in 1593. There is nothing unlikely in this tradition, and much to be said in its favour; but unfortunately it is impossible to verify it, because no lists of the members of those churches are extant. It is possible, however, to limit the range within which perhaps future research may discover some corroboration. We must eliminate all those names († in the schedule) the bearers of which are *known* to have been resident at Leyden, and those (‡) who were *probably* there; as well as the hired sailors, and those who are distinctly stated to have come from Colchester, Billericay, Norwich, Southampton, or other places. The Billington family must also be excluded, as they are repudiated by Bradford, being "shuffled into the company,"

he knew not by what influence. On the whole the London contingent are most hopefully to be sought under the names of Browne, Chilton, Clark, Dotey, Eaton, Hopkins, Margeson, Mullens, Rigsdale, and Warren ; fourteen names in all, not counting children.

Nothing can derogate from the honour due to such men as Bradford and Brewster, Carver, Fuller, Winslow, Standish, Mullens, and Alden. But there was a Judas among the twelve apostles, and there were one or two black sheep among the 102 who sailed in the *Mayflower*. Bradford ascribes to some who suffered in "the sickness" language and conduct by no means becoming saints ; and the family which he declares to have been "shuffled in" were, beyond question, a bad lot. The father, as early as 1621, was adjudged to be tied neck and heels "for contempt of the captain's lawful command, with opprobrious speeches" ; and he evidently went from bad to worse until 1630, when, having deliberately waylaid and shot one, John Newcomen, with whom he had a former quarrel, he was hanged for the murder. In 1636, his wife was set in the stocks and whipped for slander. His posterity are traced through a younger son, whose wife—a widow—was not one of the original colonists. It does not appear, however, that the scandals which, a few years later, afflicted the colony were to any appreciable extent due to the influence of this unhappy family ; but rather to later arrivals, who were actuated by no such religious impulse as moved the original pilgrims.

It may be worth noting that what are called Canting Names are proportionally more numerous among the pilgrim families than in the majority of Puritan lists. It would not be fair so to designate such aptly chosen names as Oceanus and Peregrine ; while Desire is merely the French Desirée, and Constant the familiar Constance ; but Remember, Love, Wrestling, Humility, and Resolved are canting names of the most pronounced order.

| Order of Signature | Name. | | Whence. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | Alden, John ... ... | M | London or Essex ... |
| 5 | Allerton, Mr. Isaac† ... | M | London, formerly Suffolk |
| | ,, Mary† ... ... | W | Newbury ... ... |
| | ,, Bartholomew† ... | B | Born at Leyden ... |
| | ,, Remember† ... | G | ,, ,, ... |
| | ,, Mary† ... ... | G | ,, ,, ... |
| 38 | ,, John ... ... | M | — |
| 26 | Billington, John ... ... | M | London ... ... ... |
| | ,, Eleanor ... ... | W | ,, ... ... ... |
| | ,, John ... ... | B | ,, ... ... ... |
| | ,, Francis ... ... | B | ,, ... ... ... |
| 2 | Bradford, Mr. William† ... | M | Austerfield ... ... |
| | ,, Dorothy† ... | W | Wisbech ... ... ... |
| 4 | Brewster, Mr. William† ... | M | Scrooby ... ... ... |
| | ,, Mary† ... ... | W | ,, ... ... ... |
| | ,, Love† ... ... | B | ,, ... ... ... |
| | ,, Wrestling† ... | B | ,, ... ... ... |
| 34 | Britteridge, Richard ... | M | Prittlewell ... ... |
| 33 | Browne, Peter ... ... | M | Probably London ... |
| | *Button, William*‡ ... ... | M | — |
| | *Carter, Robert* ... ... | M | — |
| 1 | Carver, Mr. John† ... ... | M | Probably Essex ... ... |
| | ,, Katharine† ... | W | Nottinghamshire ... |

It is worthy of remark that, whereas exactly half of the *Mayflower* Company died within a year of their arrival on Plymouth Rock, at least eight attained to the age of seventy and upwards; their actual years being 72, 76, 78, 80, 81, 84, 89, and 90.

In the following schedule is given as much personal information about the voyagers as it has been found possible to condense in the available space.

| Date of death. | |
|---|---|
| 1687 | Married Priscilla Mullens, 1623; died at Duxbury, aged 89. Last survivor of the signatories.* |
| 1659 | Married (2) a daughter of W. Brewster; died at Newhaven.* |
| 7 *Mar.*, 1621 | Had a child, still-born, 22 December, 1620. |
| ? | Afterwards returned to England.* |
| ? | Married Moses Mavericke, of Salem; living in 1652.* |
| 1699 | Married Thomas Cushman; died aged 90; last survivor of the Pilgrims.* |
| *Mar.*, 1621 | Hired sailor. |
| Oct., 1630 | "Shuffled into the Company"; hanged for murder.* |
| ? | Whipped for slander, 1636; married (2) to Gregory Armstrong, 1638.* |
| 1628 or '29 | Died before his father. |
| ? | Married Christian, widow of Francis Eaton, 1634; living at Yarmouth, N.E., 1650.* |
| 9 May, 1657 | Governor 1621–33, 1637, 1639–43, 1645–57; married (2) to Alice Southworth.* |
| 17 *Dec.*, 1620 | Drowned in Cape Cod harbour, aged 23. |
| 20 April, 1644 | Ruling Elder; died at Duxbury, aged about 78.* |
| 1626 | Died at Plymouth, aged about 57.* |
| 1650 | Married Sarah Collier, 1634; died at Duxbury, N.E.* |
| ? | Died unmarried, date uncertain. |
| 31 *Dec.*, 1620 | Died on board the *Mayflower* in Plymouth harbour. |
| 1633 | Died at Plymouth; ancestor of John Brown, of Ossawatomie.* |
| 16 *Nov.*, 1620 | Servant to S. Fuller; died on board the *Mayflower* at sea. |
| 1621 | Probably servant to W. Mullens. |
| *April*, 1621 | Deacon and Governor. |
| *June*, 1621 | Maiden name White. (Probably a sister of Mrs. John Robinson.) |

| Order of Signature | Name. | | Whence. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Carver, Mrs. Carver's maid . | W | — |
| 24 | Chilton, James ... ... | M | Sandwich ... ... |
| | ,, his wife ... ... | W | — |
| | ,, Mary ... ... | G | — |
| 36 | Clarke, Richard ... ... | M | — |
| | Cooper, Humility ... ... | G | — |
| 17 | Cooke, Francis ... ... | M | — |
| | Cooke, John ... ... | B | — |
| 25 | Crackstone, John ... ... | M | Colchester ... ... |
| | ,, John, junr. ... | B | ,, ... ... |
| 40 | *Dotey* (Doughty ?) *Edward*... | M | London or Scrooby ... |
| 23 | Eaton, Francis ... ... | M | — |
| | ,, Sarah ... ... | W | — |
| | ,, Samuel ... ... | B | — |
| | Ellis or Ely ... ... ... | M | — |
| 39 | English, Thomas ... ... | M | — |
| 27 | Fletcher, Moses† ... ... | M | — |
| 8 | Fuller, Mr. Samuel† ... | M | North Ockendon, Essex |
| 21 | ,, Edward ... ... | M | Essex ... ... ... |
| | ,, Mrs. Edward ... | W | — |
| | ,, Samuel, junr. ... | B | — |
| 37 | Gardiner, Richard ... ... | M | — |
| 28 | Goodman, John ... ... | M | — |
| | *Holbeck, William*‡ ... ... | M | — |
| | *Hooke, John*‡... ... ... | M | — |
| 14 | Hopkins, Mr. Stephen ... | M | London or Essex ... |
| | ,, Elizabeth ... | W | ,, ,, ... |
| | ,, Giles ... ... | B | ,, ,, ... |
| | ,, Constant... ... | G | ,, ,, ... |
| | ,, Damaris ... ... | G | ,, ,, ... |
| | ,, Oceanus ... ... | B | — |

| Date of death. | |
|---|---|
| Before 1627 | Married Francis Eaton (his 2nd wife), 1623, and died a year or two after. |
| 18 *Dec.*, 1620 | Died at Princetown harbour. |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| 1679 | Married to John Winslow (Brother of Edward); died at Boston.* |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| ? | Related to E. Tilley; returned to England after 1627; probably died unmarried. |
| 1663 | His wife and children followed him; died at Plymouth, aged about 81.* |
| ? | Son of Francis; married Sarah Warren, 1634; living at Dartmouth, N.E., 1694; last *male* survivor of the *Mayflower*. * |
| *Spring*, 1621 | Left a married daughter at Leyden. |
| 1628 | Died at Plymouth, N.E. |
| 1655 | Servant to Hopkins; died at Yarmouth, N.E.* |
| 1633 | Married (2) "Mrs. Carver's maid," (3) Christian Penn; died at Plymouth.* |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| 1684 | An infant; apprenticed 1636; "presented for mixt dancing" 1651; died at Middlesborough, N.E.* |
| ? | A sailor, who returned to England after fulfilling his engagement. |
| *Spring*, 1621 | Hired sailor. |
| *Early*, 1621 | Married 2nd time at Leyden, 1613. |
| 1633 | Surgeon and Deacon; died at Plymouth.* |
| *Spring*, 1621 | Brother of Samuel F. |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| 1683 | Died at Barnstable, N.E.* |
| ? | A sailor, who died either at sea or in England. |
| *Early*, 1621 | |
| *Spring*, 1621 | Probably servant to White. |
| *Spring*, 1621 | Probably servant to Isaac Allerton. |
| 1644 | Died at Plymouth.* |
| After 1640 | Died at Plymouth.* |
| 1690 | Married Katharine Wheldon, 1639; died at Yarmouth.* (Children of Stephen by a former wife.) |
| 1677 | Married Nicholas Snow; died at Eastham.* (Children of Stephen by a former wife.) |
| After 1666 | Married Jacob Cooke, of Plymouth; died there before 1669. |
| Before 1627 | Born on board the *Mayflower*, at sea. |

| Order of Signature | Name. | | Whence. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | *Howland John*‡ ... ... | M | — |
| | *Langmore, John* ... ... | M | Billericay... ... ... |
| | *Latham, William* ... ... | B | Sherborne ... ... |
| 41 | *Lister or Litster, Edward* ... | M | Probably Scrooby ... |
| 32 | Margeson, Edmund ... | M | — |
| 9 | Martin, Mr. Christopher ... | M | Billericay... ... ... |
| | ,, Mrs. ... ... | W | ,, ... ... ... |
| | Minter, Desire ... ... | G | Norwich ... ... ... |
| | More, Jasper ... ... | B | — |
| | ,, Richard ... ... | B | — |
| | ,, "Richard's Brother" | B | — |
| | ,, Ellen... ... ... | G | — |
| 10 | Mullens, Mr. William ... | M | Presumably London ... |
| | ,, Mrs. ... ... | W | ,, ,, ... |
| | ,, Joseph ... ... | B | ,, ,, ... |
| | ,, Priscilla ... ... | G | ,, ,, ... |
| 29 | Priest, Degory† ... ... | M | London ... ... ... |
| | *Prower Solomon*‡ ... ... | M | Billericay ... ... |
| 20 | Rigdale, John ... ... | M | — |
| | ,, Alice ... ... | W | — |
| 18 | Rogers, Thomas ... ... | M | Chelmsford ... ... |
| | ,, Joseph ... ... | B | ,, ... ... |
| | Samson, Henry ... ... | B | — |
| 35 | *Soule, George*‡ ... ... | M | — |
| | *Story, Elias*‡... ... ... | M | — |
| 6 | Standish, Mr. Miles ... | M | Lancashire ... ... |
| | ,, Rose ... ... | W | ? Isle of Man ... ... |
| 15 | Tilley, Edward ... ... | M | Shipton ... ... ... |
| | ,, Ann ... ... ... | W | — |

| Date of death. | |
|---|---|
| 1673 | Servant to Carver; married Elizabeth Tilley; died at Plymouth, aged 80.* |
| *Early* 1621 | Probably servant to Martin. |
| After 1643 | Servant to Carver; returned to England, and died in the Bahamas. |
| Before 1630 | Servant to Hopkins; removed to Virginia, and died there. |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| 18 *Jan.*, 1621 | Treasurer of the Company; had the victualling of the ship. |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| ? | Returned to England, and died, apparently unmarried. |
| *Dec.*, 1620 | "Put to the Carver family"; died in Cape Cod harbour. |
| 1656 | Adopted by Brewster family; married Christian Hunt, 1636 assumed name of Mann; died at Scitnate.* |
| *Spring*, 1621 | "Put to the Brewster family." |
| *Spring*, 1621 | "Put to the Winslow family." (These were four orphans.) |
| 3 *Mar.*, 1621 | Agent who negotiated with the Merchant Adventurers.* |
| *Spring*, 1621 | * |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| After 1687 | Married John Alden, 1623.* |
| 11 *Jan.*, 1621 | His wife and children followed, she being Isaac Allerton's sister. |
| 2 *Jan.*, 1621 | Probably servant to Martin. |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| *Spring*, 1621 | His children came later, some of whom left issue.* |
| 1678 | Son of Thomas, died at Eastham, N.E.* |
| 1684 | Child, six years old, cousin of Ed. Tilley; married Anne Plummer, 1636; died at Duxbury, N.E.* |
| 1680 | Servant to Winslow; married Mary Bucket or Becket; died at Duxbury.* |
| *Spring*, 1621 | Probably servant to Winslow. |
| 1656 | Chosen Captain 17 February, 1621; married (2) Barbara [maiden name unknown], 1623; died at Duxbury. |
| 8 *Feb.*, 1621 | |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |

| Order of Signature | Name. | | Whence. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | Tilley, John... ... ... | M | — |
| | ,, Bridget ... ... | W | — |
| | ,, Elizabeth ... ... | G | — |
| 19 | Tinker, Thomas ... ... | M | — |
| | ,, Mrs. ... ... | W | — |
| | ,, (child unnamed) ... | B | — |
| | *Thompson, Edward*‡... ... | M | — |
| | Trevors, William ... ... | M | — |
| 22 | Turner, John ... ... | M | — |
| | ,, (unnamed)... ... | B | — |
| | ,, (unnamed)... ... | B | — |
| 12 | Warren, Mr. Richard ... | M | London ... ... ... |
| 11 | White, Mr. William† ... | M | — |
| | ,, Susanna† ... ... | W | — |
| | ,, Resolved† ... ... | B | ... |
| | ,, Peregrine ... ... | B | — |
| | *Wilder, Roger*‡ ... ... | M | — |
| 30 | Williams, Thomas... ... | M | — |
| 3 | Winslow, Mr. Edward† ... | M | Worcestershire ... ... |
| | ,, Elizabeth† ... | W | Chattisham, Suffolk ... |
| 31 | ,, Gilbert ... ... | M | — |

It is customary in England to restrict the honourable title "The Pilgrim Fathers" to the company who sailed in the *Mayflower*. In America it is usual to include among "The Pilgrims" or "The Forefathers" those who followed in the *Fortune* and the *Anne*. It seems, therefore, desirable to add the names of these bold adventurers, the more so as several of them inter-married with the *Mayflower* pioneers, howbeit they attained not unto the first company.

| Date of death. | |
|---|---|
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| 1687 | Married John Howland; died at Plymouth.* |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| 14 *Dec.*, 1620 | Probably servant to Wm. White; the first who died after reaching New England. |
| — | A sailor; returned to England after fulfilling his engagement. |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| *Spring*, 1621 | |
| 1628 | His wife and children followed; the family was related to that of Cromwell; died at Plymouth.* |
| *March*, 1621 | |
| 1680 | Sister of Fuller's; afterwards married Gov. Edwd. Winslow. |
| ? | Born at Leyden; living at Salem 1690. |
| 1704 | Born on board the *Mayflower* in Cape Cod harbour; died at Marshfield, N.E.* |
| *Early* 1621 | Probably servant to Carver. |
| *Early* 1621 | |
| 1655 | Married Susanna White (Fuller) 22 May, 1621, the first marriage in the Colony; Governor 1633 and 1644; died at sea. |
| 3 *April*, 1621 | |
| — | Brother of Edward; returned to England after some years. |

*Passengers in the "Fortune" arrived 20th November, 1621.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Adams, John | died 1633 | Cushman, Thos. | 1691 |
| Bassett, William | 1667 | Dean, Stephen | 1634 |
| ,, Elizabeth (?) | ? | Dela Noye— | 1681 |
| Beal, William | before 1627 | Flavel, Thos. | before 1627 |
| Bompass, Edward | ? 1684 | ,, (his son) | do. |
| Brewster, Jonathan | ? 1659 | Ford, Martha (married Peter Brown) | ? |
| Briggs, Clement | ? | ,, William (Boy) | 1676 |
| Cannon, John | before 1627 | ,, John (Boy) | 1693 |
| Connor, William | do. | | |

Ford, Martha (Child) 1684
Hicks, Robert 1648
Hilton, William before 1627
Morgan, Bennett do.
Morton, Thomas do.
Nicholas, Anstin do.
Palmer, William 1638
,, William, Junr. ?
Pitt, William before 1627
Prence, Thomas 1674
Simonson, Moses ?
Statie, Hugh before 1627
Stewart, James do.
Tench, William do.
Winslow, John 1674
Wright, William 1633
Two others, probably children

Of the thirteen dated "Before 1627," some had *left the Colony* before that date.

*Passengers in the "Anne," or its tender, the "Little James," which arrived late in July*, 1623.

Annable, Anthony died 1673
,, Jane ?
,, (Two Children) ?
Bangs, Edward (married Lydia Hicks) 1676
,, Rebecca ?
,, (Two Children) ?
Bartlett, Robert 1676
Bourchier, Edward before 1627
,, Mrs. do.
Becket or Buckett, Mary (married George Sonle) 1677
Brewster, Fear (married ,, Isaac Allerton) 1633
,, Patience (married Thos. Prence) 1634
Clark, Thomas 1697
Cook, Hester (a Walloon) 166?
,, (Three Children)
Connant, Christopher before 1627
Cuthbertson, Cuthbert 1633
,, Sarah 1633
,, (Four Children) ?
Dix, Anthony before 1627
Faunce, John (married Patience Morton) 1654
Flavel, Mrs. before 1627
Flodd, Edmund do.
Fuller, Bridget ?
Heard, William before 1627
Hicks, Margaret (wife of Robt.) ?
,, (Three Children)
Hilton, Mrs. William before 1627
,, (Two Children) do.
Holman, Edward ?
Jenney, John 1644
,, Sarah ?
,, (Three Children) ?
Kempton, Manasseh 1663
Long, Robert before 1627
Mitchell, Experience, married Jane Cook) 1689
Morton, George 1624
,, Julianna 1666
,, (Five Children) ?
,, Thos., Junr. ?
Newton, Eleanor (married John Adams) 1681
Oldham, John 1636
,, (Mrs.) ?
[Eight associated with them, who all left the Colony before 1627]
Palmer, Frances
Penn, Christian (married 1, F. Eaton, 2, F. Billington) ?
Pratt, Joshua 1656
Rand, James before 1627

Ratcliffe, Robert before 1627
,, Mrs. do.
,, (Two Children) do.
Snow, Nicholas ?
Southworth, Alice (Carpenter) 1670
,, Barbara (?) 1662
Spragne, Francis ?
,, Anna ?
,, Mercy (married William Tubbs; divorced 1668)
Tilden, Thomas before 1627
,, Mrs. do.
,, (One Child) do.
Tracey, Stephen ?
,, Tryphosa ?
,, Sarah ?
Wallen, Ralph before 1681
,, Joyce ?
Warren, Elizabeth 1673
,, Mary (married R. Bartlett) ?
,, Anne (married Thos. Little) ?
,, Sarah (married John Cook) ?
,, Elizabeth (married R. Church) ?
,, Abigail (married Anthony Snow) ?

Two servants of the shipmaster; one, Abraham Pierce, was probably a negro; the name of the other is not given.

About the names of Manasseh Faunce, William Palmer, and Phineas Pratt there seems a little uncertainty.

The tonnage of the *Mayflower* is reported as 180; that of the *Speedwell* which declined the voyage, sixty; of the *Fortune*, fifty-five; the *Anne*, 140; the *Little James*, forty. The tonnage of Drake's *Pelican* is said to have been only 120.

## A Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England

1. A History of Plymouth Plantation, by Wm. Bradford, Governor of the Colony. Written in the years 1630 to 1650.

Used in MS. by Nathanael Morton, Bradford's nephew, by Thomas Prince, and Governor Hutchinson. This important work disappeared after its use by Hutchinson, the Tory governor of Massachusetts, who fled to England before the revolution. It was given up by the historians of Plymouth in Massachusetts as utterly beyond recovery. A few leaves of one of Bradford's Letter Books were found in a baker's shop in Nova Scotia, but not a shred of the History, until the middle of last century, when it was discovered in the Bishop of London's library at Fulham, having been used by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford in his *History of the Episcopal Church in America.* When the Americans, after a strange delay of some years, identified the precious document they naturally desired to gain repossession of it. After some fruitless attempts, it happened fortunately that when a fresh effort was made by Senator Hoare, through the popular Ambassador Mr. Bayard, Dr. Temple was primate and Dr. Creighton bishop of London. These righteous men overcame the official difficulties which lay in the way, and after taking a photographic facsimile of the complete book, despatched it to its proper home in New England.

Bradford's *History* is the fundamental document for the story of the Pilgrims, extending from 1606, before the Scrooby Church migrated to Holland, to 1646. Without it the early history of the Pilgrims would be a blank, and a noble chapter would be missing from the story of English Congregationalism.

It is written, as it claims to be, "in a plaine stile, with singular regard unto the trueth in all things." Generally the story is written in a quaint and charming way, though the miseries and delays and the long-winded letters of their faithless friends make the close of their stay in Holland somewhat tedious in the telling. The chief fault alleged against Bradford is vagueness in his allusions to persons and places. It needed the trained research of Hunter to identify and locate these. But

something may be said for Bradford in his humility, not realizing that these particulars would grow into ever-increasing significance, as the world realized the far-reaching results of this great venture in Congregational colonizing. Who would have thought that little Scrooby, least among all the thousands of Israel, would become a name of renown.

Printed Copies of the complete work.

1.*a*. 1856. From a transcript taken while the MS. lay at Fulham. Published by the Massachusetts Historical Society with notes by Chas. Deane.

[1895. The photo-facsimile above mentioned was published.]

1. *b*. 1901. A complete reproduction by the State of Massachusetts; without notes, but with an account of the steps which led to the transference of the MS. to New England, with portraits of the chief personages concerned in the transaction.

1. *c*. 1908. Edited, with notes, by William T. Davis, of Plymouth (N.E.). [In the Series, "Original Narratives of American History."]

1. *d*. 1909. An edition rendered into modern English by Valeria Paget. (London, 8vo.) Miss Paget's transcript makes wonderfully easy and interesting reading.

1. *e*. 1912. Two Vols. issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society. A truly sumptuous edition, lavishly furnished with reproductions of old maps, documents, paintings, engravings, coins, signatures, and a full apparatus of explanatory notes and references, and two large scale maps.

**2.** 1622. MOURT'S RELATION.—London, printed by John Bellamie.

The earliest printed book on the history of the Pilgrims. Seven copies known to exist, all save the British Museum copy, in America.

2. *a*. 1865. 4 to. Boston (Mass.). An annotated edition of No. 2 by Dr. H. M. Dexter.

The signature "G. Mourt," at the close of the "Epistle to the Reader," gives the volume its name. Drs. Young and Dexter have proved that it was a thin disguise used by George Morton, one of the Leyden company and an Old Comer.

Half of the volume and more is occupied by Bradford's *Journal* of events, from the landfall, 20th November, 1620, to the second election of Governor Carver, 2nd April, 1621. It also contains four papers by Winslow, narrating the missions sent to the several Indian chiefs in 1621, and a letter by R. Cushman justifying migration from England to America.

*Mourt's Relation*, has been much used by later writers.

2. *b*. 1625. John Smith's *General Historie* contains an abridgment.

2. *c.* 1625. *Purchas his Pilgrims*—has a summary of about one-half, poorly done.
2. *d.* 1802. A reprint of *Purchas* by the Massachusetts Historical Society.
2. *e.* 1822. A reprint by the Society of the omitted portions. The Massachusetts Historical Society has printed what remains of Bradford's Letter Book. (1st Series, Vol. 3.) Its *Collections* and *Proceedings* contain very much valuable matter relating to the Pilgrims.
2. *f.* 1848. *The Journal of the Pilgrims*, edited by Geo. B. Cheever, D.D. N. York. 8vo. Two-thirds of Cheever's volume are taken up by his "Historical and Local Illustrations of Providences, Principles and Persons"—a homiletic commentary on the story of the Pilgrims. The volume was reprinted [?1849] by Collins at Glasgow.

**3.** 1624. GOOD NEWS FROM NEW ENGLAND. Published in London. Written by Edward Winslow to dispel false rumours and convey some reliable information about the Colony.

**4.** 1637. THE NEW ENGLISH CANAAN, by Thomas Morton. Written in a jocular, scoffing, vein. The author was one of the undesirables who found their way into the Colony. He was, in the year 1628, "for his Atheisticall and licentious practises," "apprehended by Captain Standish and sent home to England."

**5.** 1647. NEW ENGLAND'S SALAMANDER DISCOVERED, by Edward Winslow; written during a visit to England as "a satisfactory answer to many aspersions cast upon the Colony." [See Nathanael-Morton's *New England Memoriall*, pp. 68 ff.]

**6.** 1669. NEW ENGLANDS-MEMORIALL, by Nathanael Morton, Secretary to the Colony, and a nephew of Governor Bradford. Morton acknowledges his indebtedness to his "much honoured uncle," and to Edward Winslow. Up to 1646 his work is chiefly a transcript from these writers; after that date, when they fail him, his narrative becomes very meagre and jejune, and consists indeed chiefly of obituary notices of the chief personages deceased each year, with a selection of memorial verses written in their honour. Of a divine named Mitchell, his elegist says:

> "The Scripture with a Commentary bound
> Like a lost Callice* in his Heart was found."

John Cotton is described by his panegyrist as

> "A simple Serpent or Serpentine Dove
> Made up of Wisdome, Innocence and Love."

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* Calais.

When the venerable Father of the Colony, William Bradford, deceased, many found relief in rhyme. One well-acquainted with his work wrote :

> "The Ninth of May, about nine of the clock,
> A precious one God out of Plimoth took;
> Governour Bradford then expir'd his breath,
> Was called away by force of cruel Death."

The *Memoriall* was several times reprinted.

6. *a.* 1885. Reprint of the Congregational Board of Publication, with notes. (Boston, Mass.) This is called the Sixth Edition.

6. *b.* 1910. *New England's Chronicles*, with an Introduction by John Masefield. (Everyman's Library.)

This contains Morton's *Memoriall* and the *Supplement*, taken from the Congregational Board edition ; and Cushman's *Discourse*, and Winslow's *Relation* and *Brief Narration* (in part) from Young's *Chronicles ;* in each case the original notes are retained. The volume also contains Capt. John Smith's *New England's Trials*, which gives an account of several expeditions to the New England coast which came to nothing, with items on the geography and productions of the country—nothing immediately relating to Pilgrims.

**7.** 1684. History of New England, by Samuel Hubbard. Has no historical value. Palfrey is very severe, describing it as " beneath contempt."

We have now reached the last of the authors in our list who had personal acquaintance with the original settlers. The remaining authors referred to have to depend upon literary sources for their matter.

**8.** 1736. Chronological Annals, by Rev. Thomas Prince, Boston (Mass.).

Prince mapped out an ample scheme for his *Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals*. He begins with the creation of the world, goes through all the ancient empires, and follows the English monarchy to the Death of Elizabeth. This by way of Introduction. Then comes the New England chronology in two parts, carrying us to September, 1630. The work was never completed ; though had Prince omitted his Introduction, as well he might, there would have been some prospect of carrying his work to a completion. There was not enough public spirit in New England to see the old scholar's work through the press. He tried the device of issuing the second volume in " sixpenny parts." Three parts were issued in 1775, bringing the story down to August, 1633. Prince records the affairs of the Colony and contemporaneous events in the great world secular and religious. The special value of his work, which was drawn from an extraordinarily wide range

of authorities, lay in the fact that he had access to sources of information about the Pilgrims and their immediate successsions, which are no longer extant. He has done his work well—with care and without prejudice.

Reprints of Prince's *Annals*.

8. *a*. 1887, in a series entitled "Bibliotheca Curiosa." Edited by Edmund Goldsmid. (Edinburgh.) Five parts (or volumes) in one. Prince's references are omitted; but a list of his authorities is given.

8. *b*. 1887-96. THE ENGLISH GARNER, by E. Arber, Vol. II., contains the *Annals*, with the omission of the Introduction.

**9.** 1702. COTTON MATHERS *Magnalia*, an ecclesiastical history of New England, is an amorphous production—of the rag-bag order.

**10.** 1767. A HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS, by Governor Hutchinson, already referred to, in its second volume touches upon Plymouth; but it is of secondary value and may be neglected.

**11.** 1795. AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH AT NEW ENGLAND, by John Corton. (Collections. Massachusetts Historical Society, 1795. Reprinted 1835.) A brief summary of the history of the first foundation of the Church at Plymouth and an account of its subsequent fortune. Additional particulars are given of Brewster's life, and the discussions in the Church on the ministry, ordinances, and so forth.

**12.** 1836. COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL PAPERS, by Peter Force. 4 Vols. Washington. 8vo. This collection contains two of Capt. John Smith's pamphlets on New England, and *The New England Canaan* and *Simplicities Defence*. The Collection, useful for the general history of American colonization, has no special value for Pilgrim history.

In the volumes published during the 19th century, the earlier works suffer from being written before the publication of Bradford's *History*, and before the fruitful researches of recent years, into the Pilgrim story, made in New England, and, with more important results, made in this country and Holland. The general histories of the United States, of the New England States and of Massachusetts—into which State Plymouth was incorporated—all contain sections devoted to the Pilgrim settlement.

A strictly chronological order may now be conveniently dispensed with.

## A. GENERAL HISTORIES.

1834. Bancroft's HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (13th Edition, 1847), has a good summary, occupying 24 pp. [Vol. I. (Edition 1847)], of the Pilgrim story. It is too early to embody the valuable result of later research.

1835. Thacher's HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH (2nd Edition). Boston (Mass.). Small 8vo. The recognized text-book in its day; containing much local information. It has an Index but no Table of Contents. An Appendix deals with the Indian Wars.

1855. HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS, by J. S. Barry. 3 Vols. Large 8vo. Vol. I. brings the pPilgrim story down to 1692. Barry makes excellent use of the material available in his day, and gives full references in convenient footnotes.

1857. THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORY, by C. W. Elliott. 2 Vols. 8vo. New York. The first volume gives us, after preliminary chapters on early discoveries in North America and the rise of the Puritan in England, an account of the Pilgrims from their church organization at Scrooby to their permanent settlement in the Plymouth Colony—from 1602 to about 1634. It is written picturesquely and with sympathy for the ideals of the Pilgrims. But historic research has added much to our knowledge of Pilgrims both here and in New England since 1853, the year when Elliott was writing this section of his work.

1859. THE HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, by John Gorham Palfrey, regarded by the New Englanders as their standard history. The critical American outsider is apt to regard this very able work as a pious tribute to revered ancestors, rather than a dispassionate history. But English Congregationalists reading Palfrey's admirable summary of the history of the Pilgrims do not find his sympathy with his subject a defect. The only defect of this excellent piece of work is its date.

1871. THE ENGLISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA IN THE 17TH CENTURY, 8vo., by E. D. Neall, American Consul at Dublin, is useful for the general subject, and embodies some personal research. Of small use for our special study.

1886. A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND TO THE TIME OF ANDROS, by Chas. Dean. This is the New England section, by a very competent hand, of Justin Winstor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. III.

1886. THE MAKING OF NEW ENGLAND, by Samuel Adams Drake. A popular work by a master of the subject, omitting all controversial matter, giving a clear view of the successive attempts to colonize New England; liberally supplied with sketch maps, portraits, topographical and antiquarian illustrations. Suitable for senior classes in schools. The Pilgrims are given a place of honour.

1887. THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA: THE PURITAN COLONIES. 2 Vols., by J. A. Doyle.

Mr. Doyle's work is well known and authoritative. In Vol. I., Chapter II., in a skilful way he tells the story of "*The Plymouth Pilgrims*," for the first ten years or more. He is tolerant

and sympathetic, and sees clearly the greatness of the achievement of these sturdy and heroic pioneers. All the available literature is at Mr. Doyle's command, and in less than a hundred pages he presents a well-proportioned and balanced picture of the Pilgrims, from their beginnings in England to their settlement in Plymouth.

1889. THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND, OR THE PURITAN THEOCRACY IN ITS RELATION TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, by John Fiske. A great little book. Mr. Fiske commanding an intimate acquaintance with the facts discourses upon them in a large philosophical way. Well worth study.

1898. HISTORIC TOWNS OF NEW ENGLAND, 8vo, is a bright, attractive work. Thirteen of the principal towns—there are really more, for the Cape Cod towns form a collective chapter—are described topographically and historically, each by a selected competent writer. The whole is edited by Lyman P. Powell, who contributes an introductory chapter. The work is furnished with a couple of old maps and various excellent illustrations. The writing has an agreeable literary flavour. The student of the Pilgrim history will find the chapters on Plymouth, Cambridge, Boston and the Cape Cod Towns profitable as well as delightful reading.

## B. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIES.

1880. CONGREGATIONALISM AS SEEN IN ITS LITERATURE., by H. M. Dexter. New York. This noble volume marks a stage in the literature of Congregationalism. It gives the life of the exiles in Amsterdam and Leyden, and afterwards in New England very fully and with a wealth of reference to the whole literature of the subject which no other writer, probably, could rival. The great Bibliography attached to this volume is a treasure to all students of the subject.

1889. THE PURITAN AS A COLONIST AND REFORMER, by Ezra Hoyt Byington.

1900. THE PURITAN IN ENGLAND AND NEW ENGLAND, by the same author.

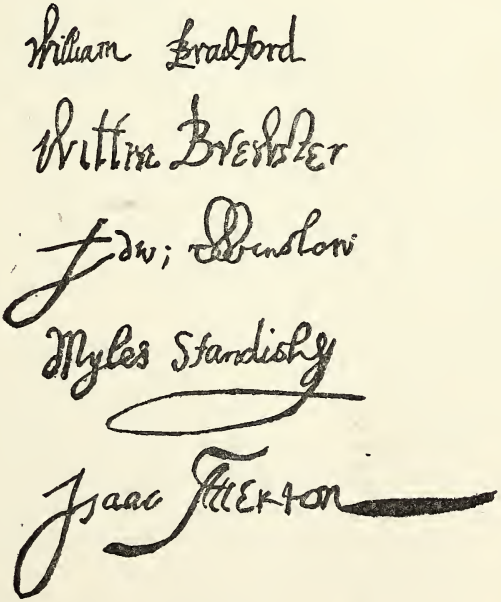
Both of Mr. Byington's volumes are thoroughly readable and interesting; they tell the large story of the Puritan settlement of which the story of the Pilgrims forms an introductory chapter. This is told with sympathy, but as preparing the way for a socially superior and more substantial settlement by those who were Puritans in old England but not Separatists. They became Congregational Separatists by the logic of their religious

position, as well as by the force of temporal circumstances. They carried easily across the ocean their evangelical theology, the theology of the XXXIX. Articles, and had no mind to set up the ecclesiastical machinery of episcopacy and the subordinate priesthood. The logic of circumstances led them into Congregationalism—or rather into a modification of Congregationalism, for which the somewhat formidable name of Presbygationalism has been suggested. The introductory Pilgrim section in both books is done sympathetically. Both volumes are slightly documented.

W. Pierce.

(*To be continued.*)

## SOME MAYFLOWER AUTOGRAPHS.



## The Presbyterian Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments

ON 19th February, 1680, old style (1681 new style)—about midway between the dissolution of the third and meeting of the last Parliament of Charles II.—there was published under the above title a broadsheet which for scurrility, profanity, and real or affected ignorance respecting the persons assailed, is happily almost without a parallel. It amused cynical men of the world, delighted while it shocked extreme High Churchmen, made Papists chuckle over its absurdities, filled Presbyterians with hot indignation at its villainous imputations, made Congregationalists wince by its crass confusion of them with their Presbyterian brethren; and—we may well suppose—delighted the dissolute king as he saw the wild turmoil into which it threw all sorts of people, sowing seeds of mutual suspicion and distrust among the malcontents in his kingdom, and giving spicy encouragement to his friends.

Our transcript is made from a copy that was purchased at a stationer's shop in Cornhill, and has been "impounded," tied up with other documents in a Sessions Roll, and preserved among the city records in the Crypt of the Guildhall. To justify the reprinting of so discreditable a production it is necessary to summarize briefly the events which led up to the crisis at which it first appeared.

The "Convention Parliament"—so called—which invited Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, met at Westminster on 26th April, 1660. It included a large number of persons friendly to the Royal Family,

although most of them were Presbyterians. To show their eager loyalty several Presbyterian ministers hurried to Breda to lay their homage at the feet of Charles, and received the fairest promises of Toleration, and even of Comprehension, in other words the fullest "self determination" in matters of Church government—all to be laid aside and forgotten as soon as the reinstated prelates began to press for ecclesiastical and ritual uniformity. Breda was to the Presbyterian clergy what Brest-Litovsk has proved to the Russian Bolsheviks of to-day.

Charles landed in England on 29th May, 1660, and found a nation mad with joy at his return. The ball lay at his feet, through the loyal welcome he received as well from Presbyterians, established and disestablished alike, as from the reinstated Episcopalians; any discontent felt by Oliver's disbanded army and the excluded Puritan and Independent clergy being "snowed under" by the wild orgies attending his triumphal entry and the re-establishment of the prelatic hierarchy.

The first Parliament which Charles summoned by his own royal authority met on 8th May, 1661. It consisted mainly of old Cavaliers and their sons, all enthusiastic Royalists and still more enthusiastic supporters of Episcopacy, the "Roundhead" or Puritan party being very small and uninfluential, and the vast majority, under the lead of Clarendon and Sheldon, ready to do anything to please their gracious and complaisant king. It proved to be almost as long a Parliament as the last summoned by Charles I; *that* sat, with intervals, for nearly twenty years (3rd November, 1640—16th March, 1660); *this* continued seventeen years and almost nine months, being dissolved on 25th January, 1679.

Charles convened his second Parliament six weeks later, on 6th March, 1679; but it sat only five months, being dissolved by Proclamation on 13th August.

His third was summoned for 7th October, 1679; but after seven prorogations had actually met only on 21st October, 1680, and was dissolved on 18th or 19th January following, after sitting barely three months. The bare recital of these facts is enough to suggest the electric state of the political atmosphere, charged with tempestuous forces, ready to burst into the wildest storms on the slightest provocation. It was just then when the "Presbyterian Paternoster" appeared, startling everybody, as "a bolt" not "from the blue," but from a sky covered with piled-up thunder-clouds.

How can we account for the contrast between 1660 and 1680, the change from enthusiasm to disgust, from confidence and hope to distrust and antagonism? Almost wholly it was a question of Religion; not of Puritanism and Prelacy, but of Protestantism and Popery. The nation and its Parliament was still distinctly Protestant. "The Days of Queen Mary," though 120 years distant, were still a potent memory; and Protestantism had its stoutest champions in the Puritans, whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent. Charles had come to Whitehall in 1660 with the largest professions of a convinced Protestant —so purely Protestant that he had been willing more than once to take the "Solemn League and Covenant," professing that his one anxiety was that all his dear Protestant subjects should live in amity with one another, and not disturb his princely ease by their sectarian squabbles. Yet all the while whatever slight tinge of religion he had was derived rather from the Papistry of his mother than from the Protestantism of his father; so that though he wore the Protestant mask to the end of his life he was full of Papist sympathies, and in his last moments sought a *vade mecum* from all his profligacies and perfidies in a Papist Mass.

Charles, though the father of a numerous illegitimate progeny, had no legitimate issue; and the next heir to the throne was his brother, James, Duke of York,

an avowed Papist, who enjoyed as much of his confidence and affection as such a nature as his might have to bestow. Year by year the dread of a Popish Successor became more and more oppressive, and disaffection was growing rife, even among Anglicans of the Laudian type, who were still distinctly, though nervously Protestant. As for the disillusioned Presbyterians, after the bitter and persistent persecution they had suffered under the Penal Statutes of 1662, 1664, 1665, and 1670, we cannot wonder that they had grown cool toward their faithless king, and longed for change in the government of Church and State, beginning to share the sentiments which all along had animated their Independent brethren. The disaffection was but partially dispelled by the Indulgence of 1672; so that after its withdrawal in 1673 it was only the fear of worse calamity that kept them from breaking with king and Parliament altogether.

When, in 1672, by an act of unconstitutional autocracy, Charles proclaimed his Indulgence, suspending all Penal Statutes passed by Parliament against Nonconformists, he meant it much more for the relief of his brother James and his papist friends than of Protestant Dissenters. He was prevented from realizing this aim by the strong pressure of three members of the "Cabal" Ministry—Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. And when, on the reassembling of Parliament, the king was compelled to withdraw the Indulgence, they determined to make him see that, much as they disliked Protestant Dissenters, they disliked and distrusted Popish Recusants infinitely more. This they did by passing the Test Act, which excluded all genuine Papists from every public office in the State; and of course, by enforcing the resignation of Clifford and Arlington, broke up the Cabal.

For the next four years, 1674-78, Charles was working secretly for the freedom of the Papists, and indirectly for the re-establishment of papacy, by base

intrigues with France, the unveiling of which roused the Protestant passion of the English people to indignant fury. That fury was intensified tenfold by Titus Oates's pretended discovery of a Popish Plot against the life of the king. For eighteen months the air was full of distrust and mutual suspicion; venal informers, by false accusations, brought about the judicial murder of many innocent persons, and all Roman Catholics in the nation lived under a veritable reign of terror.

The situation became so strained that at the end of 1678, Charles dissolved his first Parliament; but his second (6th March, 1679), proved no more complaisant. They passed an Exclusion Bill to ensure a Protestant successor to the English throne; and to guard against those summary commitments which place the freedom of every citizen in danger, they passed the Habeas Corpus Act, which has been such a safeguard to the liberty of the subject ever since. But Charles would on no account assent to the disinheriting of his brother, and dissolved his second Parliament in July, 1679.

Compelled to summon a third, he issued writs for 7th October, 1679; but (as already stated) it did not actually meet till 21st October, 1680. Prosecutions and judicial murders of innocent persons still went on under the pretence of the Popish Plot; and before long Protestant Dissenters were charged with designs as nefarious as those of the Papists to destroy the monarchy and the Church of England. In sheer desperation the Papists themselves played upon the dislike and contempt for Nonconformists, so openly and persistently shown by the Prelatists; and endeavoured to shift the odium of disloyalty and incipient rebellion to the shoulders of these their fellow-recusants.

In October, 1679, a Papist, Thomas Dangerfield, sought to provide an antidote to Dr. Titus Oates by first concocting and then pretending to reveal a Protestant Plot against the king, his brother, and the Church of England. Forged letters addressed to prominent

Whigs, members of both houses of Parliament, implying their knowledge of and sympathy with the alleged plot, were secretly left at the houses of several Nonconformist Ministers; so that on discovery after search they might be convicted as plotters against both Church and State. Some of these letters were hidden in a meal-tub, whence the name of "The Meal-tub Plot." Happily it was so clumsily contrived that it failed of its purpose, and Dangerfield received the due reward of his villainy. Still, the insinuation had been launched by Dangerfield that the Presbyterians were as bad as the Papists and as dangerous; and bigoted Anglicans were ready to believe it.

Meanwhile many of the Whigs (or Country Party) were fixing their hopes of a Protestant Succession on the Duke of Monmouth, the eldest and most popular of Charles's many illegitimate children; and many Nonconformists were too easily persuaded that concealed proofs of his legitimacy could be produced. They more or less openly expressed themselves as willing to intrigue for him as the rival of the Papist Duke of York; so that when at length the long delayed Parliament did meet, Protestant Nonconformists had been brought under a cloud of suspicion as really as the Papists themselves.

The new Parliament sat for less than three months. The Commons again passed, but the Lords rejected, the Exclusion Bill; and the former gave the king plainly to understand that they would grant no supplies until that Bill received the Royal Assent. Both houses passed a Bill to lighten the persecution of Nonconformists by repealing the Act, 35 Eliz. c. 1; but Charles contrived that this bill should be omitted from those to which, on the dissolution of the Parliament, he was to give the necessary sanction.

It was a month after this, when the city was so seething with excitement and flaming with indignation that in summoning another Parliament for the 21st

March, the king showed such mistrust of London that he called it to meet at Oxford, that this strange broadsheet appeared.

THE PRESBYTERIAN PATER NOSTER, CREED, AND TEN COMMANDMENTS.

—*Manent veteris vestigia fraudis.* VIRG.

THE PATER NOSTER.

Our Father which art in Hell, magnify'd be thy name, thy Arbitrary Kingdom come, thy Tyrannical will be done in England, now as it was in Forty-One ; Give Us this our Day a holy occasion for Rebellion ; and forgive others their holy Hypocrisy for our good Cause, and lead us not into an agreement of King and Parliament ; But Deliver us from Monarchy and Hierarchy ; and then thine shall be this Kingdom, its Power and Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

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THE CREED.

I believe in *John Calvin*, the Father of our Religion, disposer of Heaven and Earth,* and in *Owen*, *Baxter*, and *Jenkins*,† his dear Sons our Lords, (*x*) who were conceived by the Spirit of Fanaticism, born of Schism and Faction, suffered under the *Act of Uniformity ;* were Silenced, Dead, and Buried, and had descended into Hell but that they rose again in the year of Toleration ; (*b*) ascended into Tub-Pulpits ; and now sit at the right hand of the Lord S . . . ., (*c*) from whence they are coming to Judge the *Church* and *State*. I believe in the Holy *Assembly of Divines*, the Holy *National Synod*, the *Separate Meetings*, the *Act of Oblivion*, the *Resurrection from Dead Rites*, and *Toleration Everlasting*. (*d*) Amen.

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THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

The same which *John Presbyter* hath spoken in twenty Chapters of his " Works," saying. I am the *Lord thy God*, which brought thee out of the *Land of Antichrist, out of the House of Ceremonial Bondage.*

I.

Thou shalt have no other Gods but Me.

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* Dominion is founded in Gr. † They the only Saints.

II.

Thou shalt not make any Image, or likeness of any *Saint* in Heaven above (except *S. Oliver*, etc.) or bow down at the Adorable name of Jesus here on Earth, nor use the Sign of the Cross in the Waters of *Baptism;* for I the Lord thy God in my Jealousie murdered the Father, and will visit his *supersititious Iniquity* upon his Children, unto the third and fourth Generation of them that hate me, but shew Mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my Damnable and Rebellious Commandments.

III.

Thou shalt not make *the Solemn League and Covenant* Vain, nor subscribe the *Declaration*, nor take the Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, unless (with a Jesuitical *Salvo* to obtain places of Honour and Power.

IV.

Remember that thou keep holy the Remembrance of *Forty-One*. Many years didst thou labour, yet could'st not do all that thou hadst to do. But in *Forty-One* the Lord thy God sent thee a Sabbath of Deliverance; Thou shall therefore now remember to do all manner of work that thou didst then, Thou and Thy Son, and thy Daughter, thy Man-Servant and thy Maid-Servant, the Brutes and Proselytes that are within thy Conventicles, for in Forty-One the Lord thy God made England and Scotland Rebellious; thou shalt therefore Bless the year Forty-One, and hallow it.

V.

Honour *Fanaticism* thy Father, and *Schism* thy Mother, that thy Days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God will once more give thee.

VI.

Thou shalt do no Murder, but upon *Majesty*, *Episcopacy*, and *Loyalty*.

VII.

Thou shalt not commit Adultery, save with the *Holy Sisterhood*, to get Babes of Grace.

VIII.

Thou shalt not Steal, unless by *Sequestration*, *Composition*, or *Publick Faith*.

IX.

Thou shalt not bear False Witness against a *Brother*, but may'st swallow Perjury by a Popish Reservation for the good of the Holy Cause.

X.

Thou shalt Covet nothing but *Crown Lands, Bishops' Lands,* and the Estates of Malignants.

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POSTCRIPT.

This is our New Religion
Model'd by that of Forty-One;
And we must root up Monarchy
To stop the growth of Popery,
And undermining Church and State
Rome's practices we'll Antedate;
The better to prevent the *Plot*
Ourselves will do what they could not. (*a*)
We'll cure all fear of *French Invasion*
By ruining at home the Nation;
And since Petitions do no good, (*b*)
And all our Tricks are understood,
Since he who never used to fail,
Doth now, our little Matchiavel (*c*)
We'll to the World Proclaim aloud
The *King* and *Duke* Thirst after *Bloud,*
*Curtis, Harris, Smith* and *Carr* (*d*)
Shall thrice a week the Kingdom scare
As if the *Devil, Turk* or *Pope*
Were just arrived in the *Hope*
We'll Authorize Men to Rebell [Hell,
By Tales from Hatfield, and from
And then persuade the silly Nation
That Treason comes by Revelation,
And that Imaginary Ghosts
Are Envoys from the Lord of Hosts.
Nor will We cease till We pull down
*Episcopacy* and the *Crown.*

Printed for *Tom-Tell-Truth,* at the Signe of the *Old King's Head* in *Axe-yard* in *King Street,* Westminster,

the 19th ffeb. 1680. W D. H.

Such is this strange mixture of blasphemous wit and keen satire, of knowledge and ignorance, of coarse defamation of scrupulous chastity (universally admitted) and unscrupulous insinuations of nefarious designs against Church and State, against Episcopacy and the Crown.

Who can have written it? "Tom Tell-Truth" might be anyone who posed as an unveiler of the bitter bigotry, revolutionary aims, and secret sedition of the pious Presbyterians. "The signe of the Old King's Head in Axe-yard in King Street, Westminister" might be a covert allusion to the decapitation of Charles I. in 1649. But Axe Yard, King Street, was a turning a little south of Downing Street, almost opposite the Privy Garden of Whitehall Palace, and was the abode of an old ejected Presbyterian, James Innes, whose son was active in securing Licences under the Indulgence in 1672, and who had retained the favour

of Lauderdale, and had playful relations with the king himself. But that was only the author's clumsy way of trying to foist this strange farrago of sectarian bigotry and revolutionary sedition on a Presbyterian. The heartless and blasphemous cynicism of the libel might suit a practical atheist like Buckingham or the younger Rochester. There are flashes of biting wit that might bespeak a poor imitation of Andrew Marvell. Were it not for its utter lack of religious reverence, and its senseless dragging in of Oliver Cromwell and Dr. John Owen, some might be tempted to think of it as a cruel thrust at Presbyterian bigotry by an Independent who had suffered from it, like John Goodwin or Henry Burton. Its framework, and the familiarity it shews with every clause and phrase of the documents travestied, suggest an Anglican parson. There is an animus bitter enough, and an ignorance of his opponent's position lofty and contemptuous enough to warrant such a conjecture; but the coarse profanity is scarcely compatible with the decorous piety and reverence of a University-trained and Episcopally-Ordained Clergyman of the State Church. And yet that is exactly what the author was—by his own confession.

It would seem that the instantaneous popularity of the broadsheet had turned the author's head, and he was unable to keep the secret. It was soon known, or at least strongly suspected, that he was a country clergyman who had been a good deal about town of late—by name *Thomas Ashenden*, Rector of Dingley in the county of Northampton, scarcely more than a mile east of Market Harborough. So much being known the authorities would soon be on the track of the Printer and Publisher as well; and all three were indicted for it at the Guildhall in April, 1681.

G. L. Turner.

*(To be continued.)*

## State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection

(*Continued from Vol. VII ; p.* 381.)

(X) *A Form of Prayer and Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God for his Majesties' late Victories over the Rebels ; to be observed in all Churches and Chapels throughout the Kingdom upon Sunday, the Twenty-sixth of this Instant July,* 1685.

[The battle on Sedgemoor had been fought on 6th July. The proper Collect was that which now stands in the Prayer Book as a Thanksgiving " For peace and deliverance from our enemies " ; and after the Litany was to be said that " For restoring Public Peace at home." In the Communion Service the following was appointed :—]

O Lord our God, who by thine Infinite Power and Wisdom dost govern all things, we adore and magnifie thy great and glorious name ; confessing that to thy good providence over us we entirely owe both our being and our preservation. We are here before thee this day to make this humble acknowledgment, as every one of us for himself in particular, so all of us together in the name of this whole nation, to which both now of late and heretofore thou hast vouchsafed so many great and publick Deliverances. Thou art our God, who hast so often and so wonderfully defeated the designs of ambitious, restless, and bloodthirsty men : to whom hadst thou given us up for a prey (as our sins most justly deserved) our blood would have been spilt like water on the ground, we must have lost all that is dear to us in this world, and we should have been overwhelmed in a deluge of sects and heresies, of wars and confusions, of which we could not have expected to see any other issue than the final ruin and destruction of this kingdom, and thy Church amongst us. O our God, how gracious hast thou been unto us all ; and to many of us even against our own wills ! How much better hast thou provided for us than we ourselves could, or would have done, hadst thou left us in the hands of our own foolish counsels ! Into thy blessed hands, O God, we entirely surrender and give up ourselves, and whatever concerns us ; beseeching thee to be still the same gracious God to us, and to our posterity after us. And the better to prepare and qualifie us for the continuance of thy care and good providence, enable us by thy grace to live like a people whom thou hast so often and so wonderfully redeemed ; not following the dictates of our own unruly lusts or passions, not listening any longer to those that go about with lies, and slander the footsteps of

thine Anointed; but studying every one to be quiet, and to do our own business, fearing God, and honouring our King, and loving one another, and hereby adorning our most holy profession; that so being delivered from our enemies, and from the hands of all that hate us, we may serve thee without fear in holiness and righteousness before thee all the days of our life, to the glory of thy name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[*In the evening, before the two final prayers:—*]

A Prayer for our Enemies. Father of Mercies, and Lover of Souls, who art kind to the unthankful and to the evil, and hast commanded us also to extend our charity even to those that hate us and despitefully use us: We beseech thee, as to accept our prayers and praises which we have this day offered up unto thee in behalf of all that are faithful and loyal in the land, so also to enlarge thy mercy and pity even to those that are our enemies. O most wise and powerful Lord God, in whose hands are the hearts of all men, as the rivers of water, to turn them whithersoever thou wilt; work mightily upon the minds of all parties among us. Turn the hearts of the children to the fathers, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; and so make them a ready people prepared for the Lord. Thou that sittest between the Cherubim, be the earth never so unquiet; thou that stillest the raging of the sea, and the noise of the waves, and the madness of the people: Stir up thy strength, and come and help us. Let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end. Take away his ungodliness, and thou shalt find none. Let the fierceness of man turn to thy praise, and the remainder of wrath do thou restrain. To this end take from them all their prejudices and all their passions; their confident mistakes, their carnal ends, and their secular interests. Open the blind eyes, that they may see (at least in this their day) the things which belong to their peace, and wisely considering thy work may say. This hath God done; and so hear and fear, and do no more wickedly. Soften the most obdurate hearts into a meek, humble, and docible temper, that they may no longer resist the truth. Bow down the stiff neck and the iron sinew to the gentle and easie yoke of thy most holy law. Take away the brow of brass and the whore's forehead, and make their faces ashamed, that they may seek thy name. Sweeten, if it may be, the gall of bitterness, and loose the bands of iniquity, and guide their feet into the way of peace. And thus redouble upon us, O Lord, the joys of this day, that we may not only triumph in the disappointment of their wicked imaginations, but with thy holy angels in heaven rejoice for their conversion. Which great blessing with the most ardent affections of our Souls we beg of thee, for thy tender Mercies sake, through the Merits and Mediation of Jesus Christ, thy blessed Son, our only Saviour. Amen.

(XI) *A Form or Order of Thanksgiving and Prayer to be used in* London, *and ten miles round it, on* Sunday, *the 15th of this Instant* January, *and 'throughout* England, *on* Sunday, *the 29th of the same month . . . in behalf of the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family.* 1688.

*Proper Psalms*—21, 127, 128, 132.

*Proper Lessons*—1st., Gen. 17 to v. 17 ; 2nd., Hebr. 11.

*Versicles after the Creed*—O Lord, save the King :

And evermore mightily defend him.

Present him with the blessings of Goodness :

And make him glad with the joy of thy countenance.

O Lord save thy servant the Queen :

And make her a joyful mother of children.

*First Collect*—O Almighty God, the Fountain of all Life, by whose only gift it cometh that mankind is encreased. Blessed be that good providence which has vouchsafed us fresh hopes of Royal Issue by our Gracious Queen Mary ; strengthen her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun. Command thy holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all dangers and evil accidents ; that what she has conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our sovereign lord the King, the further establishment of his crown, the happiness and welfare of the whole kingdom, and the glory of thy great name. Which we humbly beg of thy gracious goodness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*After the Litany*—Almighty and everlasting God, we most humbly acknowledge that in thee alone we live, move, and have our being, and that children and the fruit of the womb are a gift and heritage that cometh only of thee. We therefore devoutly beseech thee to preserve and protect our most gracious sovereign lord king James, and so bless him that he may see his children's children, and peace upon Israel. We pray thee also for his royal consort Queen Mary. Make her O Lord, as a fruitful vine upon the walls of his house, and his children like olive branches round about his table. Encrease and multiply the whole Royal family, that the king's seed may endure for ever, and his throne be as the sun before thee. So we thy people shall remember, and praise thy name from one generation to another, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[There is more in the same strain, which it is not worth while to reproduce.]

(XII) *A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving for the safe delivery of the Queen and happy birth of the young Prince. To be used on Sunday next, being the seventeenth day of this instant June . . . within the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles distance, and on the first day of July next in all other places throughout this kingdom.* 1688.

*Proper Psalms*—72, 89.

*Proper Lessons*—1st, Isaiah 12; 2nd, Matt. 22, from v. 15 to the end.

*First Collect*—O Almighty and everlasting Lord God of heaven and earth, who madest the world and all that is therein, and givest to all men life and breath and all things; We devoutly offer our most hearty thanks to thy divine Majesty, that thou hast given our dread Sovereign his heart's desire, and hast not denied us the request of our lips, in blessing him and our gracious Queen with a son, and all his subjects with a prince. Stablish the thing, O God, that thou hast wrought among us. Grant the princely infant health, strength and long life, that he may live to grow up in thy fear, and to thy glory, and to excell in all virtues becoming his high birth, and the royal dignity to which thou hast ordained him. O prepare thy loving mercy and faithfulness, that they may ever preserve him, for the honour of thy name, and the establishment of the peace, security and happiness of these nations from generation to generation. And this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake, our only Mediatour and Redeemer. Amen.

*After the prayer "for the Church Militant," the following:—*

O Lord our Governour, whose Name is excellent in all the World, and who art king for ever and ever, We praise and bless thy divine goodness for all the marvellous protections and signal favours thou hast vouchsafed thy servant our gracious king James; particularly that after thou hadst preserved him from the dangers of war, from the rage of the sea, and from the madness of the people, thou didst in thy due time bring him to great honour, by setting him on the throne of his ancestors, and hast now enlarged thy blessings towards him, by this happy increase of the Royal Issue. We most humbly beseech thee to continue and multiply these thy mercies to him and us: that thou would'st give him sons to grow up as the young plants, and that his daughters may be as the polished corners of the temple. Bless, O Lord, the whole Royal family, with the blessings of the heavens above, with the blessings of the deep beneath, with the blessings of the breasts and of the womb: that when the king's days shall be fulfilled, and he shall sleep with his fathers in peace and glory, his seed may be set up after him, and his house and kingdom may be established for ever before thee. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ his sake our only Saviour. Amen.

[*It is interesting to compare the above with that which was ordained by "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at Westminster," on 22nd January,* 1688/9.]

## The Heads of Agreement, 1691

IN Dale's "History of English Congregationalism," pp. 474 flg., a fair and on the whole sympathetic account is given of the agreement of the Independent and Presbyterian Ministers of London—that "Happy Union" which Matthew Mead celebrated in a long remembered sermon on Ezek. xxxvii. 16-17, in view of which the saintly Flavel was prepared to adopt the song of Simeon, and which became the pattern of many Ministerial Associations in various parts of the country. As it is now seventy-five years since the "Heads" were last fully reproduced in England, it is thought that a careful reprint, *verbatim et literatim* from the original edition, may be acceptable to our subscribers.

It is worthy of notice that, of the five standards of sound doctrine enumerated in Head VIII., all but the first are definitely Calvinistic.

*Heads of Agreement*

Assented to by the

United Ministers

In and about LONDON

Formerly called

PRESBYTERIAN

AND

CONGREGATIONAL

Licensed and Entred according to Order.

*LONDON:*

Printed by *R.R.* for Tho. Cockerill, at the *Three Legs*, and John Dunton, at the *Raven*, in the *Poultrey*. MDCXCI.

## *THE PREFACE TO THE READER.*

*ENdeavours for an Agreement among Christians will be grievous to none who desire the flourishing State of Christianity itself. The Success of these Attempts among us, must be ascribed to a Presence of God so signal, as not to be concealed; and seems a hopeful Pledg of further Blessings.*

*The favour of our Rulers in the present Established Liberty, we most thankfully acknowledg; and to Them we are studious to approve our selves in the whole of this Affair. Therefore we Declare against intermedling with the* National *Church-Form: Imposing these Terms of Agreement on others, is disclaimed: All pretence to Coercive Power, is as unsuitable to our Principles, as to our Circumstances: Excommunication it self, in our respective Churches, being no other than a declaring such scandalous Members as are irreclaimable, to be incapable of Communion with us in things peculiar to visible Believers: And in all, we expresly determine our purpose, to the maintaining of Harmony and Love among our selves, and preventing the inconveniences which humane weakness may expose to in our use of this Liberty.*

*The general concurrence of Ministers and People in this City, and the great disposition thereto in other places, persuade us, this happy Work is undertaken in a season designed for such Divine influence, as will overcome all impediments to Peace, and convince of that Agreement which has been always among us in a good degree, though neither to ourselves nor others so evident, as hereby it is now acknowledged.*

*Need there any Arguments to recommend this Union? Is not this what we all have prayed for, and Providence by the directest indications hath been long calling and*

*disposing us to? can either Zeal for God, or prudent regards to ourselves remissly suggest it, seeing the Blessings thereof are so important, and when it's become in so many respects even absolutely necessary; especially as it may conduce to the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Kingdom's Weal; a subserviency whereto, shall always govern our United Abilities, with the same disposition to a convenience with all others who are duly concerned for those National Blessings.*

*As these considerations render this Agreement desirable, so they equally urge a watchful care against all attempts of Satan to dissolve it, or frustrate the good effects thereof so manifestly destructive to his Kingdom. Therefore it's incumbent on us, to forbear condemning and disputing those different sentiments and practices we have expressly allowed for: to reduce all distinguishing Names, to that of* United Brethren: *To admit no uncharitable jealousies, or censorious speeches; much less any debates whether Party seems most favoured by this Agreement. Such carnal regards are of small moment with us, who herein have used words less accurate, that neither side might in their various conceptions about lesser matters be contradicted, when in all substantials we are fully of one mind; and from this time hope more perfectly to rejoice in the Honour, Gifts, and Success of each other, as our* common *good.*

*That we as* United, *may contribute our utmost to the great concernments of our Redeemer, it's mutually resolved, we will assist each other with our Labours, and meet and consult without the least shadow of separate or distinct Parties: whence we joyfully expect great Improvements in Light and Love, through the more abundant supplies of the Spirit; being well assured we herein serve that* Prince of Peace, *of* the increase of whose Government and Peace, there shall be no end.

This Agreement is already assented to by above Fourscore Ministers, and the Preface approved of.

# HEADS OF AGREEMENT

Assented to by the
United Ministers, &c.

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*The following Heads of* Agreement *have been resolved upon, by the* United *Ministers in and about* London, *formerly called* Presbyterian *and* Congregational; *not as a Measure for any* National Constitution, *but for the Preservation of Order in our Congregations, that cannot come up to the Common Rule by Law established.*

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## I. Of Churches and Church-Members.

1. *WE acknowledge our* Lord Jesus Christ *to have One* Catholick Church, *or Kingdom, comprehending all that are united to Him, whether in* Heaven *or* Earth. *And do conceive the whole multitude of* visible Believers, *and their Infant Seed* (*commonly called the* Catholick Visible Church) *to belong to* Christ's Spiritual Kingdom *in this world*: *But for the notion of a* Catholic Visible Church *here, as it signifies its having been collected into any formed Society, under a Visible human Head on Earth, whether* one *Person singly, or* many *collectively, We, with the rest of Protestants, unanimously disclaims it.*

2. *We agree, That particular Societies of Visible Saints, who under Christ their Head, are statedly joined together for ordinary Communion with one another, in all the Ordinances of Christ, are* particular Churches, *and are to be owned by each other, as Instituted Churches of Christ though differing in* apprehensions *and* practice *in some lesser things.*

3. *That none shall be admitted as Members, in order to Communion in all the special Ordinances of the Gospel, but such persons as are knowing and sound in the* fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion, *without Scandal in their Lives; and to a Judgment regulated by the Word of God, are persons of visible Godliness and Honesty; credibly professing cordial subjection to Jesus Christ.*

4. *A competent Number of such* visible Saints (*as before described*) *do become the capable Subjects of stated Communion in all the* special Ordinances of Christ, *upon their mutually declared consent and agreement* to walk together therein according to Gospel Rule. *In which declaration, different degrees of* Explicitness, *shall in no way hinder such Churches from owning each other, as* Instituted Churches.

5. *Tho* Parochial Bounds *be not of* Divine Right, *yet for common Edification, the Members of a* particular Church *ought* (*as much as conveniently may be*) *to live near one another.*

6. *That each* particular Church *hath Right to chuse their own Officers; and being furnished with such as are* duly qualified *and* ordained *according to the Gospel Rule, hath Authority from Christ for exercising* Government, *and of enjoying all the* Ordinances of Worship *within itself.*

7. *In the Administration of* Church Power, *it belongs to the Pastors and other* Elders *of every particular Church* (*if such there be*), *to* Rule *and* Govern; *and to the Brotherhood to* Consent, *according to the Rule of the Gospel.*

8. *That all Professors as before described, are bound in duty, as they have opportunity, to join themselves as* fixed members *of some particular Church; their thus joining being part of their professed subjection to the* Gospel of Christ, *and an instituted means of their Establishement and Education; whereby they are under the* Pastoral Care, *and in case of* scandalous *or* offensive walking,

*may be Authoritatively Admonished or Censured for their recovery, and for vindication of the* Truth, *and the* Church *professing it.*

9. *That a* visible Professor *thus joined to a* particular Church *ought to continue stedfastly with the said Church; and not forsake the Ministry and Ordinances there dispensed, without an orderly seeking a recommendation unto another Church. Which ought to be given, when the case of the person apparently requires it.*

## II. Of the Ministry.

*WE agree, That the* Ministerial Office *is instituted by Jesus Christ, for the Gathering, Guiding, Edifying, and Governing of his* Church; *and to continue to the end of the world.*

2. *They who are called to this* Office, *ought to be endued with* competent Learning *and* Ministerial Gifts, *as also with the Grace of God, sound in judgment, not Novices in the Faith and Knowledg of the Gospel; without scandal, of holy Conversation, and such as* denote *themselves to the Work and Service thereof.*

3. *That ordinarily none shall be Ordained to the work of this Ministry, but such as are* called *and* chosen *thereunto by a particular Church.*

4. *That in so great and weighty a matter, as the calling and choosing a* Pastor, *we judg it ordinarily requisite, That every such Church consult and advise-with the* Pastors *of Neighbouring Congregations.*

5. *That after such* Advise, *the Person consulted about, being chosen by the Brotherhood of that particular Church over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly ordained, and set apart to his Office over them; wherein 'tis ordinarily requisite. That the* Pastors *of* Neighbouring Congregations *concur with the* Preaching Elder, *or* Elders, *if such there be.*

6. *That whereas such* Ordination *is only intended for such as never before had been ordained to the* Ministerial Office; *If any judge, that in the case also of the removal of one formerly ordained, to a new Station or* Pastorial Charge, *there ought to be a like Solemn recommending of him and his Labours* to the Grace and Blessing of God; *no different Sentiments or Practice herein, shall be any occasion of* Contenton *or* Breach of Communion *among us.*

7. *It is expedient, that they who enter on the work, of* Preaching the Gospel, *be not only qualified for Communion of Saints; but also that, except in* cases extraordinary, *they give proof of their* Gifts *and* fitness *for the* said work, *unto the* Pastors *of Churches of* known abilities *to discern and judge of their* qualifications; *That they may be sent forth with* Solemn Approbation *and* Prayer; *which we judge needful, that no doubt may remain concerning their being Called to the work; and for preventing* (*as much as in us lieth*) Ignorant and rash Intruders.

## III. Of Censures.

1. *AS it cannot be avoided, but that in the* Purest Churches *on earth, there will sometimes* Offences *and* Scandals *arise by reason of* Hypocrisie *and* prevailing corruption; *so Christ hath made it the Duty of every Church, to reform it self by* Spiritual Remedies, *appointed by him to be applied in all such cases; viz.* Admonition, *and* Excommunication.

2. Admonition, *being the rebuking of an* Offending Member *in order to conviction, is in case of* private offences *to be performed according to the Rule in Matthew* xviii. 15, 16, 17, *and in case of* Public offences *openly before the Church, as the* Honour of the Gospel, *and* Nature of the Scandal *shall require: And if either of the* Admonitions *take place for the recovery of the fallen* Person, *all further proceeding in a way of censure, are*

*thereon to cease, and* satisfaction *to be declared accordingly.*

3. *When all* due means *are used, according to the* Order of the Gospel, *for the restoring an* offending *and* scandalous Brother; *and he notwithstanding remains Impenitent, the Censure of* Excommunication *is to be proceeded unto; Wherein the* Pastor *and other* Elders (*if there be such*) *are to lead, and go before the* Church; *and the Brotherhood to give their consent, in a way of obedience unto Christ, and unto the* Elders, *as over them in the Lord.*

4. *It may sometimes come to pass, that a* Church-Member, *not otherwise Scandalous, may* sinfully withdraw, *and divide himself from the* Communion of the Church *to which he belongeth: In which case, when all* due means *for the reducing him, prove ineffectual, he having hereby cut himself off from* that Churches Communion; *the* Church *may justly esteem and declare itself discharged of any further inspection over him.*

## IV. Of Communion of Churches.

1. *WE agree, that* Particular Churches *ought not to walk so distinct and separate from each other, as not to have care and tenderness towards one another. But their* Pastors *ought to have frequent meetings together, that by Mutual Advice, Support, Encouragement, and Brotherly intercourse, they may strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the* ways of the Lord.

2. *That none of* our *particular Churches shall be subordinate to one another; each being endued with* equality of Power *from Jesus Christ. And that none of the said particular Churches, their Officer, or Officers, shall exercise any* Power, *or have any* Superiority *over any other Church, or their Officers.*

3. *That known Members of particular Churches,*

*constituted as aforesaid, may have occasional Communion with one another in the* Ordinances of the Gospel, *viz. the* Word, Prayer, Sacraments, Singing Psalms, *dispensed according to the mind of Christ: Unless that Church with which they desire Communion, hath any just exceptions against them.*

4. *That we ought not to admit any one to be a Member of our respective* Congregations, *that hath joined himself to another, without endeavours of mutual Satisfaction of the* Congregations *concerned.*

5. *That* one Church *ought not to blame the Proceedings of* another, *until it hath heard what* that Church *charged* its Elders, *or* Messengers, *can say in vindication of themselves from any charge of* irregular *or* injurious Proceedings.

6. *That we are most willing and ready to give an account of our* Church Proceedings *to each other, when desired; for preventing or removing any offences that may arise among us. Likewise we shall be ready to give the right hand of fellowship, and walk together according to the* Gospel Rule *of* Communion *of* Churches.

## V. Of Deacons and Ruling Elders.

*WE agree, The Office of a* Deacon *is of Divine Appointment, and that it belongs to their Office to receive, lay out, and distribute the* Churches Stock *to its* proper uses, *by the direction of the* Pastor, *and the Brethren if need be. And whereas divers are of opinion, That there is also the Office of* Ruling Elders, *who labour not in* word and doctrine; *and others think otherwise; We agree That* this difference *make no* breach *among us.*

## VI. Of Occasional Meetings of Ministers, &c.

1. *WE agree, That in order to* concord, *and in any other* weighty *and* difficult *cases, it is needful, and according to the* mind of Christ, *that the Ministers of several Churches be consulted and advised with about such matters.*

2. *That such Meetings may consist of* smaller *or* greater Numbers, *as the matter shall require.*

3. *That* particular Churches, *their respective* Elders, *and* Members, *ought to have a reverential regard to their judgment so given, and not dissent therefrom, without* apparent *grounds from the word of God.*

## VII. Of our Demeanour towards the Civil Magistrate.

1. *WE do reckon ourselves obliged continually to pray for God's* Protection, Guidance, *and* Blessing *upon the* Rulers *set over us.*

2. *That we ought to yield unto them not only* subjection in the Lord, *but* support, *according to our station and abilities.*

3. *That if at any time it shall be their pleasure to call together any Number of us, or require any* account *of our* Affairs, *and the state of our* Congregations, *we shall most readily express all* dutiful regard *to them herein.*

## VIII. Of a Confession of Faith.

*AS to what appertains to* soundness of judgment *in* matters of Faith, *we esteem it sufficient, That a Church acknowledge the* Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only Rule of Faith and

Practice, *and own either the Doctrinal part of those commonly called the* Articles *of the Church of* England, *or the* Confession, *or* Catechisms, Shorter or Larger, *compiled by the* Assembly *at* Westminster, *or the* Confession *agreed to at the* Savoy, *to be agreeable to the said Rule.*

## IX. Of our *Duty* and *Deportment* towards them that are not in Communion with us.

1. *WE judge it our duty to hear a* Christian Respect *to all Christians, according to their several Ranks and Stations, that are not of our* Persuasion *or* Communion.

2. *As for such as may be ignorant of the Principles of the* Christian Religion, *or of* vicious conversation, *we shall in our respective Places, as they give us opportunity, endeavour to explain to them the* Doctrine of Life and Salvation, *and to our uttermost persuade them to be reconciled to God.*

3. *That such who appear to have the* essential Requisites *to* Church Communion, *we shall willingly receive them in the Lord, not troubling them with Disputes about* lesser matters.

As we Assent to the forementioned HEADS of AGREEMENT, so we Unanimously Resolve, as the Lord shall enable us, to *Practice* according to them.

*FINIS.*

## Registration under the Toleration Act

THE following appears to be of interest as an illustration of the conditions under which a Measure of Religious Freedom was enjoyed two hundred years ago.

Extracted out of the Registry of the Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of London :—

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being inhabitants of the parish of Dedham in the county of Essex and in the diocese of the Bishop of London doe hereby Certifye that a Meeting house lately built in Dedham aforesaid is intended to be used as and for a place of Religious Worship for such Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England as are commonly called Independents, Bezaleel Blomfield being their pastor or teacher. We do hereby desire that the same place may be Registered in the Registry of the Bishop of London, pursuant to an Act of Parliament in that case made and provided ; as witness our hands this second day of September, 1738.

| | |
|---|---|
| Henry Sida | Josp. Branston |
| Willm. Parker | Edm. Sherman |
| Willm. Richardson | John Salmon |
| Richd. Peacock | W. Skelton, registerar |

(The Church Act is dated 30th September, 1741 ; only one name, that of Wm. Richardson, is common to both documents.]

## The Fakenham Theological Seminary

FAKENHAM is a small market town in Norfolk, about twenty miles from King's Lynn, twenty-five from Norwich, and 120 from London. Its population at the commencement of the last century but a little exceeded 1,200; it is now about 3,200. It stands about the middle of an area of above 200 square miles, containing nearly 40 villages, in which, in 1795, evangelical Nonconformity was represented by one solitary Wesleyan Chapel. In that year a Congregational Church was formed in the town, and a Baptist Church six years later. For a time these were united under a Baptist minister, but on his death, in 1819, a separation took place, and a new chapel was erected. In 1827, Rev. William Legge, from Highbury College, undertook the pastorate, and was ordained on 2nd April, 1828.

For nine years Mr. Legge laboured with a fair measure of success, but amidst social difficulties such as are now happily unusual. In addition to his regular pastoral duties he had done an amount of evangelistic work in the surrounding villages which would have severely tasked the energies of a stronger man. In many of these villages ignorance, ungodliness, and social disorder abounded; while the claims of religion were only presented by representatives of the State Church, some of whom were habitually negligent, and some openly scandalous.

In 1837 the committee of Highbury College, and afterwards that of Homerton College proposed to Mr. Legge that he should undertake the preliminary training of students who were looking forward to the Christian Ministry, but whose early education had been defective, or whose aptitude required testing. The proposal received also cordial support from the Directors of the London Missionary Society. The instruction was to be of a preparatory nature, the men when qualified being transferred to one or other of the regular colleges; and they were to engage in definite evangelistic work in the villages. The institution was to be on a proprietary basis, and it was to be affiliated with Highbury College.

The first two students received were Joseph G. Pigg, afterwards for many years pastor of Marlborough Chapel, Old Kent Road, and Mr. B. B. Woodward, who devoted himself to literary pursuits, and became librarian at Windsor Castle. As the number of students increased, larger domestic accommodation became necessary. A

large house, about a mile from the town, was purchased; and there for several years from ten to fourteen young men were constantly to be found receiving instruction and being exercised in Home Missionary work. No account is preserved of the course of instruction pursued; it would probably vary with the varied deficiencies of the men. The whole household was regarded as a family; and many letters are extant—confirmed by the testimony of survivors—bearing witness to the warm affection in which both Mr. and Mrs. Legge were held by their pupils. The students held services in cottages, farm houses, and in the open; and the villagers were familiarized as never before with the truths of the gospel. There was occasional opposition from well-intentioned ignorance. Some members of the congregation were high Calvinists, and thought Mr. Legge dangerously lax both in doctrine and discipline—though in both he was more puritanic than is usual in these days. One deacon was horribly scandalized to find that the students actually played cricket.

There are indications that the proprietary basis of the Seminary was not quite satisfactory; and that at one time it proved a drain on Mr. Legge's private resources. In this view the following card, which was prepared for circulation, is not without interest:—

"Theological Seminary, Fakenham. In this Institution, which is conducted by the Rev. W. Legge, Pastor of the Independent Church at Fakenham, candidates for admission into the Dissenting Colleges pursue a course of preparatory instruction. Opportunity is also afforded for the mature consideration of their important object, at a period when a secular employment may be most easily resumed. Mr. Legge has much pleasure in referring to all his former pupils, nearly a hundred in number—to their respective Pastors in all parts of England—and to the Tutors of the several Colleges to which they have proceeded."

The Seminary was discontinued in 1853; but Mr. Legge continued to minister at Fakenham till his death, which occurred suddenly on 12th December, 1859. The only publication which bears his name is "*A Pastoral Letter*" addressed to the Church in 1852, on the completion of twenty-five years' ministry. But he published anonymously "*One Thousand Questions on the Old and New Testament*"; and several manuals on Ancient and Modern History.

## LIST OF STUDENTS AT FAKENHAM

The following list is not complete; it is based on one lent by H. J. Legge, Esq., of Birkenhead, with additions from "Year-Book" obituaries and other sources.

| Date. | Name. | Subsequent Training. | Pastorate, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1838 | Woodward, B. B. | Highbury .. .. | Harleston; afterwards Librarian at Windsor Castle |
| ,, | Pigg, Joseph G. | do. .. .. | Wymondham; Marlborough Chapel, London |

| Date. | Name. | Subsequent Training. | Pastorate, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1839 | Holford, J. A. | —— | —— |
| ,, | Griffiths, E. .. | Highbury .. | Merthyr; Wiveliscombe; Brisbane |
| ,, | Bendall, B. O... | do. .. | Stamford |
| ,, | Jeffries, D. F. .. | —— .. | —— |
| 1840 | Buck, J. D. .. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Jenkin, John .. | —— .. | Rye |
| ,, | Strongman, J. | —— .. | Chapmanslade, Wilts. |
| 1841 | Reading, Jas. .. | —— .. | Walton; Wheathampstead |
| ,, | Hill, Micaiah .. | Springhill .. | East Retford; Brixham Birmingham |
| ,, | Lind, W. A. .. | Hackney .. | Missionary, South Seas |
| ,, | Willis, John .. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Sainsbury, T. B. | Highbury .. | Finchingfield; Waterloo; Duxford |
| ,, | Sleigh, Jas. .. | do. .. | Hockliffe, Beds. |
| ,, | Ray, A. S. .. | —— .. | Sydenham |
| 1842 | Johnson, N. W. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Hebditch, Saml. | Highbury .. | Bristol |
| ,, | Gammon, A. .. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Tozer, Hy. .. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Amphlett, Hy. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Jeffries, G. | Highbury .. | Glastonbury |
| 1843 | Basden, F. T. .. | do. .. | Potton |
| ,, | Roe, W. H. .. | —— .. | Portsea |
| 1844 | Chancellor, H. | Highbury .. | Ledbury; St. Heliers; Salisbury |
| ,, | Fleming, J. P... | do. .. | Lancaster |
| 1845 | Hall, G. F. .. | do. .. | Linton, Camb. |
| ,, | Ray, Thos. .. | University, London | Hatfield; Bishop's Stortford; Clapham; &c. |
| ,, | Chambers, W. H. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Lawrence, H. B. | —— .. | —— |
| 1846 | Williams, R. Gould | —— .. | Rochdale |
| ,, | Carpenter, Jas. Jos. | Cheshunt .. | Clavering |
| ,, | Lander, J. W... | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Guyer, T. T. .. | —— .. | —— |
| 1847 | Peacock, T. R. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Sillington, J. S. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Wright, G. .. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Buzacott, Aaron | New Col. .. | Long Sutton; Romford; Peckham |
| ,, | Alexander, J. F. | do. .. | Chichester; Stretton-under-Fosse; Ipswich |
| ,, | Jones, R. Pierce | do. .. | Sedbergh; Saxmundham; Rotherhithe; Burgess Hill |
| ,, | Turquand, Paul J. | do. .. | Walworth |
| ,, | Thompson, W. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Kilpin, S. Wells. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Aylen, W. H. .. | —— .. | —— |
| 1848 | Foyster, Albert | Newport Pagnell .. | Cuckfield; Brighton |
| ,, | Baylis, Fred .. | Rotherham .. | Missionary, Neyoor, India |
| ,, | Kent, Wm. .. | —— .. | Missionary, Berbice |
| ,, | Parkinson, H. W. | Coward .. | Rochdale |
| ,, | Bellowes, G. C. | Highbury .. | Blackheath |

| Date. | Name. | Subsequent Training. | Pastorate, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1848 | White, F. M. .. | New Col. .. .. | Tisbury |
| ,, | Stuchbery, Jos. | do. .. .. | Tiverton ; Wakefield |
| ,, | Morrison, A. .. | Cotton End .. | Abbotts Roothing ; Richmond, Yorks. |
| ,, | Tarleton, R. A. | —— .. .. | —— |
| ,, | Green, Chas. .. | —— .. .. | —— |
| ,, | Saunders, Jas. | —— .. | —— |
| ,, | Manton, Matt... | —— .. .. | —— |
| 1849 | Davison, W. .. Hope | Cheshunt .. .. | Bolton |
| ,, | Soden, Frank .. | do. .. .. | Clapton |
| ,, | Taylor, Arthur | —— .. .. | —— |
| 1850 | Jones, John .. | Cotton End .. | Missionary, New Hebrides |
| ,, | Insull, J. G. .. | Cheshunt .. .. | Bedford |
| ,, | French, J. B. .. | do. .. .. | Richmond |
| ,, | Barker, Johnson | New Col. .. .. | Leicester |
| 1851 | Goward, Henry | Spring Hill .. | Luton ; Spring Hill |
| ,, | Davies, J. D. .. | Hackney .. .. | Blakeney ; Wareham |
| ,, | Sisterton, Walter H. | Cheshunt .. .. | Leamington |
| ,, | Mombert, J. .. | —— .. .. | —— |
| ,, | Miller, Geo. .. | —— .. .. | —— |
| 1845(abt.) | Hirschberg, H. J. | —— .. .. | Medical Missionary at Hong-Kong |
| 1841(abt.) | Roberts, W. | Hackney .. .. | High Wycombe ; Notting Hill. |

## Religious Liberty 110 Years Ago.

IN glancing over volumes of the Evangelical Magazine dated a little more than a hundred years ago, it is instructive to find reports of cases which illustrate the spirit that prompted Lord Sidmouth's Bill of 1811, and was barely held in check by the "New Toleration Act" of 1812 (52 Geo. III. cap. 155).

I. In September, 1810, a house in the parish of Childrey, Berks., was registered under the Toleration Act of 1689 as a Methodist meeting place; and duly certified in the registry of the Bishop of Salisbury. In this house preaching was usual once every Sunday, and a prayer meeting was held on the Sunday evening. Such a meeting was held on Sunday evening, 21st October, in which William Kent, William Franklin, and others took part. During part of the evening a woman servant of the parish clergyman, a constable, and others were present, evidently to play the part of informers. In the ensuing week the parson laid an information before a local magistrate, under the Conventicle Act (21 Chas. II.), against Kent and Franklin for "teaching and praying," they having, apparently, not qualified as Dissenting Ministers by making the Declaration required in the Toleration Act. They were fined £20 each; and Kent refusing to pay, the fine was recovered by distraint. Due notice of appeal was given; the appeal was heard on 15th January, 1811, before Lord Radnor and the Bench of Justices at Reading. Counsel for the respondent magistrate argued that although Kent had not preached, he had prayed, and "it is impossible to pray without teaching"; "When

it is said, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' is it not an assertion that God is in heaven?" The witnesses were quite unable to repeat any sentence that Mr. Kent had uttered, and the woman admitted that she did not see him, and could only swear to two detached words. Nevertheless the Earl of Radnor summed up as strongly as possible in favour of the respondent, fully endorsing the plea that praying audibly is teaching, and therefore within the purview of the Conventicle Act; and simply bullied the jury into returning a verdict accordingly. Mr. Kent's solicitor immediately took objection to the whole proceeding, as informal and illegal. The matter was removed by *certiorari* to the Court of King's Bench; the case was heard at the following Easter term, the conviction was quashed, and the £20 was returned to the defendant by the magistrate. But Bennett (Hist. Dissenters, p. 48), says that £300 was expended in resisting and annulling this monstrous conviction.

II. On 30th July, 1811, the Hon. G. Grey, Commissioner of H.M. Dockyard at Portsmouth, and John Maybee, a superannuated shipwright, were summoned before the Mayor of Portsmouth and a full bench of magistrates on an information under the Conventicle Act. Mr. Grey had gathered a Sunday School in his own office, in which he employed Mr. Maybee as a teacher; this was their alleged offence. The information was laid by one Dr. Scott, a clergyman of the Established Church, but in a fictitious name. On discovering this the mayor very properly rejected the information; whereupon it was renewed in another fictitious name. Mr. Grey, being informed of this, wrote to the Mayor, begging that no such irregularity might prevent his going fully into the case, which was heard accordingly.

It appeared that about a hundred boys were taught to read the Bible, and to learn the Catechism, collects, etc., from the Book of Common Prayer; and regularly

attended worship in the place where Dr. Scott officiated: that on a Sunday evening, as the school was about to close, Dr. Scott came in and interrupted Mr. Maybee, who was reading a prayer from a book which was not the B.C.P. The facts were not disputed; but the solicitor for the defence pointed out that the title of the Act was "An Act to prevent Seditious Conventicles," and that it would be absurd to call a Sunday School a Seditious Conventicle. The Mayor without hesitation dismissed the case as against Mr. Maybee; and the prosecutor then withdrew the information against Mr. Grey. Obviously if Dr. Scott's contention had been upheld, the result would have been to make every Sunday School an unlawful assembly.

III. In September, 1811, some months after the rejection of Lord Sidmouth's notorious Bill, J. Whitaker, of Drayton, Salop, was convicted before Lord Kenyon and fined £20 for preaching in the house of Edward Welch at Hanmer, in the County of Flint—that house not being registered under the Toleration Act. Welch was also convicted, apparently under the Conventicle Act, and similarly penalized. A warrant of distress was issued; but it being found that the man's goods would not produce the amount demanded, the fine was remitted. But his mother was deprived of an allowance of a shilling a week, which she had received from a local charity for poor widows; his wife was notified that she would be deprived of an allowance of £3 a year which she had for teaching ten poor children; several of the hearers were fined 5s. each and costs; and Welch was fined a shilling for not being present at the parish church—though he had been there the previous Sunday.

*(To be Continued.)*

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# Congregational Historical Society

# Transactions

Vol. VIII. No. 2] [AUGUST, 1920

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# EDITORIAL

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on 12th May, Rev. Dr. Nightingale presiding. The attendance was exceptionally numerous, being drawn by the prospect of a Lecture on "The Pilgrim Fathers," by Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, LL.D., of King's College. The business of the Society was quickly transacted, the officers being re-elected, and a message of cordial greeting being despatched to our venerable president, Rev. Dr. Brown. Dr. Hearnshaw's lecture was of great interest, not so much for any presentation of new facts as for the co-ordination of facts which are severally familiar, but of which the relations are commonly overlooked. Especial stress was laid on the widely different principles which actuated the original colonists of New England and those of Virginia; a diversity the outcome of which has been manifested not only in the old Colonial days, but in the War of Independence, the Civil War, and even in the relation of political parties at the present time. The lecture was highly instructive, and a hearty vote of thanks testified the appreciation of the audience.

* * * *

No more seasonable publication could have been offered in this Tercentenary Year than "John Robinson, the Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers: a Study of his Life and Times," by Walter H. Burgess, B.A. The author "tells the story of the Pilgrims with Robinson as the central figure," claiming—and we think justly—that "in his Ministry at Leyden he moulded their opinions and guided their policy." Much interesting information is given as to the ancestry of the worthy pastor, their social standing, and their relation with others who were prominent in the Separatist movement. The controversies in which he was engaged at Leyden are sufficiently explained, as well as the entanglement of the Pilgrims with the London "Adventurers"; and many little-known documents are for the first time made generally accessible. The book deserves, and no doubt will obtain, an extensive circulation.

* * * *

Another seasonable publication is of somewhat complex authorship. It is entitled "New Light on the Pilgrim Story." The

inception, and much of the original research, is due to the late Mrs. Charlotte Skinner; on whose sudden death her papers came into the hands of her kinsman, Rev. T. W. Mason, whose diligence completed what she had well begun. The MS. was subjected to a careful review by Rev. Dr. Nightingale; and the result is to bring together a number of new facts relating to the *Mayflower's* Pilgrims, especially those who had local or family connections with the County of Essex. The book is well illustrated, and should find many readers in the Eastern Counties.

* * * *

Several other seasonable volumes deserve a passing notice, as especially suited to various classes of readers. The Religious Tract Society have republished Dr. Mackennal's "Homes and Haunts of the Pilgrim Fathers"; and also—in a cheap edition—Dr. Brown's classical volume on the same topic. In the "Every-Man" series has lately been included a volume of contemporary narratives, edited by John Masefield; it comprises Nathaniel Morton's "New England's Memorials"; R. Cushman's "Discourse on the State of the Colony"; Capt. John Smith's "New England's Trials"; and Ed. Winslow's "Brief Relation of the Present Estate of Virginia." Dr. Powicke has published "John Robinson, a Monograph"; and among volumes more especially suited to the young are "The Argonauts of Faith," by Basil Mathews; and "The Founders of New England," by W. Melville Harris. And a publication which the Pilgrims would scarcely have approved, but by the aid of which many will do honour to their memory, is "The Historical Pageant of the *Mayflower*," by Hugh Parry.

* * * *

To altogether a different category belong two recent publications by Dr. Peel. One is "A Treatise of the Church and the Kingdom of Christ," by R. H.—almost certainly Robert Harrison, printed for the first time from the MS. in Williams' Library; the other is "The First Congregational Churches," affording new lights on Separatist Congregations in London, 1567–81.

* * * *

The usual Autumnal Meeting of our Society will be held at Southampton on Wednesday, 29th September. Papers are expected from W. Dale, Esq., F.S.A., on "Southampton and the *Mayflower*"; and from the Rev. F. W. Camfield, M.A., on "Southampton and Nonconformity."

## Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers

(*Continued from page 23.*)

### C. BIOGRAPHIES.

[The British Museum press-mark of each is appended.]

1857. THE LIFE OF ELDER BREWSTER, by Ashbel Steele, M.A. The author was a minister at Washington. He goes with patient thoroughness, and with much research, through the story of the famous elder at Scrooby, Leyden and Plymouth. The earlier part of his biography is the more directly useful for the general story of the Pilgrims. Steele's wife was a descendant of Brewster's. A book still worth reading. [Brit. Mus. 10880. ee. 19.]

1851. THE WORKS OF JOHN ROBINSON, edited by Robert Ashton. 3 Vols. 8vo.

The Memoir prefixed to Vol I., and the Appendix, Vol. III., on "The Church of the Exiles," contain matters necessary for a full comprehension of the Dutch section of the Pilgrim history. One point is worthy of special note. Ashton vigorously defends the authenticity of John Robinson's Sermon, or address, given at the departure of the *Mayflower* party from Delftshaven, in July, 1620, and recorded by Edward Winslow. Under circumstances briefly noted above, Winslow wrote *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, the last section of which is a "Briefe Narration of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of New England." This contains the celebrated discourse, remembered and treasured even to-day by reason of its broad outlook and its liberal sentiments. In the course of his valedictory, Robinson finely says that "he was very confident the Lord had yet more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word."* Now George Sumner, the American historian (in his "Memoir of the Pilgrims at Leyden," printed in the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3rd Series, Vol. IX., 1846), greatly depreciates the historical value of Winslow's report of the sermon, given, he says, twenty-six years after the event. Ashton rightly stands up for its general reliability. A great

**Hyp. Unmasked* (1646), p. 97.

sermon, such as this clearly was, for the disputed sentence is by no means the only fine passage it contains, delivered on a very memorable occasion and by one whose word carried so great a weight of authority with Winslow and the Pilgrims, would be persistently recalled, its shining phrases endlessly repeated. Men's memories in those days were tenacious, and were specially trained to remember sermons. The writer of these lines has met men who could repeat great screeds of a sermon heard at some memorable cymanva thirty or forty years earlier; and evidently with great verbal accuracy. No doubt they had been rehearsed scores of times in the interval. Like enough, indeed it is more than probable, Winslow took notes, and these supplemented by a retentive memory, would enable him easily to make a full record of the famous discourse. Both as regards his trustworthiness and also his scholarly abilities, Winslow is an excellent witness. He does not actually give the report in the first person; the report in the first person comes from Cotton Mather, who recast and trimmed it. And in this form it was copied by Daniel Neal and others, who had not access to the original. Winslow introduces his account with the words "Hee used these expressions, or to the same purpose." But the sermon has all the internal marks of John Robinson's fine mind and magnanimous heart. [3755. b.]

1910. New Facts Concerning John Robinson, by Champlin Burrage.

An Oxford MS., already catalogued as a reply to a writing of John Robinson, prompted Mr. Burrage to follow up the clue, and on examining the document he has been able to settle one or two small but interesting points about Robinson and his residence at Norwich. When, however, he volunteers the reflection that Robinson, by being elected to preach in a church the right of presentation to which had been obtained by a simoniacal transaction with the former patron, the election also being restricted to episcopally ordained priests and subject to the approval of the ordinary, is anticipating the Congregationalism of Robert Browne, it is very evident that Mr. Burrage has not wholly understood what Congregationalism is. [4806. ff. 10 (4).]

## D. PILGRIM AND NEW PLYMOUTH HISTORY.

1830. An Historical Memoir of New Plymouth, by Francis Baylies. 2. Vols.

1866. New Edition, edited by G. S. Drake. 2 Vols.

A substantial work which has not received due appreciation. The fault lies partly in the work itself. Mr. Drake has supplied

his edition with a copious Index ; but its value for the student is still greatly diminished by its lack of all references to authorities. This is much to be regretted, for the work contains a full and interesting account of the Pilgrims. [10408. f. 10.]

1853. The Pilgrim Fathers, or the Founders of New England, by W. H. Bartlett. Large 8vo.

Mr. Bartlett was a clever artist and all his numerous books are finely illustrated. In that respect the present is one of the best ; its illustrations have found their way into many subsequent publications, though in none are the reproductions quite so beautiful as in the original. The text is interestingly written, with picturesque details. Bartlett's written descriptions of places are almost as good as his drawings. [4745. e. 30.]

1854. The Founders of New Plymouth, by Joseph Hunter, 8vo. 250 pp. This is also known as Hunter's *Collections* from the first sentence on the title-page.

The value of Hunter's work is not yet exhausted. On its first appearance—originally, in a briefer form as one of the author's series of *Critical and Historical Tracts* (1849 [9005. c. 35])—it straightway secured public attention as a fresh and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Pilgrims. It supplied a key to Bradford's *History*. From the vague allusions of Bradford, Hunter, an assistant keeper at the Record Office and a skilled researcher, identified Scrooby and its Manor House as the original home of the Separatist Church ; traced the appointment of Brewster as "post" at Scrooby, and unearthed much information about Bernard Clyfton and Bradford and kindred matters, now incorporated in all books on the subject. [4715. d. 11.]

1856. The Seven Articles of the Church at Leyden, 1617. With an Introduction by George Bancroft, the historian. A small pamphlet of 10 pp. reprinted from the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society ; noteworthy as representing the peaceable disposition of the Robinsonian Church. The members accept the XXXIX. Articles ; acknowledge the Christian character of all children of the faith, conformist and nonconformist ; the jurisdiction of bishops so far as derived from the king (probably Robert Browne's theory). The jurisdiction of all synods, etc., they repudiate ; also of all merely ecclesiastical officers, except so far as they are acting under the authority of a magistrate. Bancroft's Introduction has an important statement on the comparative toleration of the Pilgrim rule ; he points out how Anderson, in his History of the *English Church in the Colonies*, makes a false accusation

against the Pilgrims by confounding the Plymouth Colony with the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. It is a distinction, we have at last concluded, that Episcopalian writers have resolved not to remember. [3504. f. 10 (9).]

1896. New England's Struggles for Religious Liberty, by Rev. D. B. Ford. Philadelphia. 8vo.

The volume is published by the American Baptist Publication Society. Mr. Ford tells, in moderate language, all that can be alleged against the Pilgrims on the score of intolerance. He recognizes clearly enough the distinction between Pilgrim and Puritan ; but occasionally, mixing up in the same narrative the affairs of both Colonies, he rather overweights the responsibility of the Pilgrims. He is temperate in speaking of both, and recounts some of the vagaries of the early Quakers in the Colony, men and women dancing in a state of nudity ; enough surely to move the stern old Pilgrims to banish them from their territory. Roger Williams himself spoke against them vigorously ; and whatever he personally suffered for his somewhat turbulent propagandism, he speaks highly of the leading men of the Pilgrim community. [4744. dd. 11.]

1870. Pilgrim Memoranda. H. M. Dexter, Boston, Mass., 8vo., 39 pp., contains a Chronology of events, with almost daily entries from 21st July, 1620, to 28th July, 1621. Also a series of interesting and pertinent extracts from a wide range of literature bearing upon " the Plymouth movement and men." [10413. h. 29.]

1874. The Genesis of the New England Churches, by Leonard Bacon. New York. 8vo.

Retiring from his honoured pastorate at New Haven, Dr. Bacon set himself to study systematically the complete body of printed literature upon the subject of his book. He made no personal researches into any remaining unpublished sources of information, using only such documents as had been printed and edited by previous scholars. He thoroughly assimilated his material, and used his authors with a scholarly understanding and discrimination. The result is a solid informative volume, covering the whole ground. [4745. bbb. 38.]

1883. Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth, by Wm. T. Davis. 8vo. Boston (Mass.). [10413. k. 11.]

1885. A History of Plymouth, by the same author. 4to. Philadelphia.

Reference has already been made to the annotated edition of Bradford's *History* by Mr. Davis. He was a native of Plymouth, and no son was prouder of his birth-city. He devoted

much of his life to the study of its history, and was for some time president of the Pilgrim Society. *Ancient Landmarks* is a substantial volume in two parts, each with a separate pagination. The substance of the two parts is occupied with Titles of Estates and a Genealogical Register. But it contains a competent Historical Sketch and much out of the way, but valuable, information upon the civil and ecclesiastical organization of the town and Colony.

The *History* of the town is taken from the larger history of Plymouth Colony. It covers the whole period from Scrooby to modern times in eight chapters. Added is an Appendix full of interesting details of the ancient institutions and occupations of the Colonists. [10411. h. 26.]

1888. The Pilgrim Republic, by John A Goodwin. Large 8vo. 662 pp. Boston.

Of the larger single volumes this is probably the best complete history of the Pilgrims to the year 1692. The Introduction is an excellent survey of the literature of the subject; with references, by the way, to one book or more, presumably important, not to be found in English libraries. To many writers in this country Mr. Goodwin's volume may be commended for its clear and authoritative discrimination of Puritan and Separatist. We might then hope to have heard the last of the Pilgrim Colony burning witches. The narrative is documented, and has a good index. [9605. ff. 1.]

1891. The Pilgrim Fathers Neither Puritans nor Persecutors, by Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London. 8vo. 52 pp. London.

Mr. Scott was an enthusiastic vindicator of the Pilgrims, especially directing his defence against those who confounded Plymouth with the adjoining Puritan Colony of Massachusetts. Plymouth was distinctly the most tolerant of all the American Colonies, and much in advance of the mother country. [4535. c. 10 (6).]

1894. The Story of the Pilgrims, by Morton Dexter, small 8vo. 363 pp. Issued by the Congregational Sunday School and Publications Society (Boston and Chicago). Excellent for its purpose as a handbook for Bible Classes; a straightforward, unencumbered, and attractive narrative, with illustrations; notes and references gathered into an appendix; last, not least, a good index. [9602. aaa. 33.]

1896. "Mayflower" Essays, by G. Cuthbert Blaxland. The notable feature in these interesting essays, based upon a close study of the text of Bradford's *History*, is their authorship.

Mr. Blaxland was the Keeper of the MS. when it was in the Bishop of London's library, and was also the Bishop's domestic chaplain. He shows much sympathy with the sufferings of the Pilgrims in their efforts to obtain religious liberty. [9551. bb. 29.]

1897. THE PILGRIM FATHERS OF NEW ENGLAND, by John Brown, B.A., D.D. (1st Edition, 1895). (R.T.S. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Brown's book is the result of considerable personal research. It excels most of the works under our survey in its literary qualities. The venerable author has planned his work well, and his skilful pen enables him to tell his story with unflagging interest and vivacity. His book is embellished with some excellent illustrations of the English scenes. For general usefulness, for cheapness, and as a single volume of scholarly character and moderate dimensions, this remains the best book on the subject. [4430. f. 5.]

1897. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS, by Edward Arber. 8vo. 634 pp.

Professor Arber's story covers the years 1606 to 1623. His sub-title describes it as "told by themselves, their Friends, and their Enemies." He felt that the recovery and the publication of Bradford's MS. called for a fresh presentation of the Pilgrim narrative, and with characteristic thoroughness set himself to the task, as an act of piety to the memory of men who suffered for the Protestant faith. The work has all his excellencies as a dealer with the primary sources and authorities for history, and these excellencies were many. It also has some of his defects. We get a little uncertain now and then whether we are listening to Arber or his authorities. But we know that he deals everywhere with the originals, and we are thankful for his liberal and useful extracts. He supplies us with a wide range of interesting and unexpected information; but the manner of his presentation is not architectural and we are apt to lose our consciousness of the wholeness and continuity of the story. He has rendered good service by reprinting *Mourt's Relation*. [2398. b. 12.]

1899. HOMES AND HAUNTS OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS, by Alex. Mackennal, D.D. 4to.

The title will indicate to most readers that this is one of the series of finely-illustrated and popularly-written volumes issued by the Religious Tract Society. Dr. Mackennal was an authority on early Congregational History, and in the preparation of this volume extended his personal enquiries to Holland. The artist, also, Mr. Charles Whymper, with a little help from one or two photographs, has done his work well. He, more-

over, supplies the reading-matter for two of the shorter chapters ; and the editor of the series, the late Mr. Richard Lovett, presumably, has written the accounts of Boston and Cambridge in old England. As we close this Bibliography a new and revised edition of the above is being issued for the R.T.S. by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis. [10351. h. 15.]

1901. The "Mayflower" and Her Log.—July 15, 1620, to May 6, 1621. By Azel Ames, M.D. Large 8vo. 375 pp. Boston, 1901. A handsomely produced volume, giving the results of a minute research into everything relating to the famous ship, illustrated by maps, charts, and prints of ships of the age and type of the *Mayflower*. The volume is supplied with a Bibliography and an Index. Dr. Ames has chapters on the Name of the Ship (which is not mentioned by Bradford), on the *Speedwell*, her equipment and her voyage from Delftshaven, on the Charter of the *Mayflower*, a description of the ship, and her outfit, her officers and crew, passengers, quarters, food and clothing, her freight, and a Sailing-Log, from her departure from the Thames, to her departure from New England, on her return voyage. [2398. h. 1.]

1905. The England and Holland of the Pilgrims, begun by Dr. H. M. Dexter and revised and edited by his son Mr. Morton Dexter. Large 8vo. 673 pp. Boston.

The volume is fully documented and has an excellent Index. Dr. Dexter, we are told, had, at the time of his death, almost finished his book. It was given to Prof. Franklin Dexter of Yale to complete. It was then rewritten with some additions by Morton Dexter, who, following the example of his father in writing history, visited the English and Dutch scenes and made further researches in the libraries of this country and Holland. So that we have before us a new work, the fruit of fresh study and research ; the bulk of it from the pen of our greatest Congregational historian. For an account of the Pilgrims up to the departure of the first *Mayflower* contingent from Holland this work must rank as a first-class authority. [4715. f. 11.]

1909. The Pilgrim Fathers: their Church and Colony, by Winifred Cockshott. 8vo. 348 pp. Illustrated.

Miss Cockshott's book does her credit as an Oxford scholar. It is not a compilation of the scissors and paste-pot order. She has driven an intellectual plough through this particular field of history, and the serious student will find that with the familiar chapter-heading and the more or less customary references to authorities, this is a new book. But things are moving in this department of history, and a work completed in 1908

is not quite up to date. The author's point of view is tolerant and sufficiently sympathetic to give an attractive interest to her writing. Her statement (p. 21) on the persecuting proclivities of Puritans and Separatists is only partly true. I am satisfied that Miss Cockshott could not produce definite authority for her statement so far as it concerns the Separatists. But her competence to discuss the matters concerned in her historical survey may be seen in her acute comparison of Browne and Barrowe. Her study of the Dutch section of the Pilgrim story is also worthy of particular attention. [4744. gg. 6.]

1911. The Romantic Story of the "Mayflower" Pilgrims, by Albert Christ. Addison. Large 8vo. London.

A volume produced with much artistic taste. The story is brightly told in six chapters, occupying 200 pages of large type, each page set in a tinted framework. The illustrations are an attractive feature and consist of photographic reproductions of the Pilgrim scenes and memorials in England and America, and of a number of the historic pictures and portraits issued by Mr. Burbank, the publisher of Plymouth (N.E.) [9555. s. 5.]

The local Guide supplied by Mr. Burbank at Plymouth is well-written and beautifully illustrated.

1910. The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. Southampton. 4to. Illustrated. 32 pp.

In a series of short chapters, originally contributed to a Southampton journal, Professor Hearnshaw succeeds in telling the whole story of the Pilgrims, omitting nothing essential to the full understanding of the great enterprise. The special chapter on Southampton in 1620 is excellent reading. (In the Congregational Library, London.)

1918. The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (Dr. James Hastings), Vol. X., contains an article on the "Pilgrim Fathers," by Rev. D. Macfadyen, M.A. For busy students Mr. Macfadyen's article has many recommendations. It embraces the whole subject and leaves nothing vital out of account. Without being literary "pemmican" it is necessarily condensed. We are spared all rhetorical garnishings and homiletical expansions. The plan of the article traces the immediate origin of the movement; gives a brief account of the "Leading Personalities," particularly of Francis Johnson, Henry Ainsworth, John Robinson and William Bradford; describes shortly the sojourn at Leyden, the Migration, and the Settlement at Plymouth. A final section deals with the "Survivals of Puritan Influence." Appended to the article is a classified bibliography. [2002. c.]

1894. A volume second in interest to none of the works inserted in this list is THE RISE OF MODERN DEMOCRACY IN OLD AND NEW ENGLAND, by Charles Borgeaud. Translated by Mrs. Birbeck Hill ; with a Preface by Professor Firth of Oxford. London and N. York. 8vo. 168 pp.

Coming from the pen of a great student of political constitutions and governments this is a remarkable work. Mr. Borgeaud, who was a member of the Faculty of Law at Geneva, had already published his studies on the foundation and growth of American and European constitutions. His present thesis is, that the derivation of modern democracies is to be found in the history of England : First, in the political influences springing out of the Reformation, and secondly and more definitely, in the political theories and experiments of the seventeenth century. Moreover, that the type or model was first crystalized in the Congregational Church, formed in the reign of Elizabeth, suppressed by the Queen and Whitgift, but again realized and transported to New England to be the prototype of the great American Democracy, which itself became the working model for subsequent democratic and republican movements in Europe. Truly a prophet is not without honour save in his own country. It needed the detachment as well as the historic imagination of this learned foreigner to see the significance of Robert Browne and his principles. [08276. e. 60.]

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As aids in tracing works published in America the following books of reference are useful :

Sabin, J. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHY. New York. 1877. [BBG. b. 24.]

Rich, O. BIBLIOTHECA AMERICAN NOVA. London. 1846. [2035. b.]

Larned, J. N. THE LITERATURE OF AMERICAN HISTORY. London. 1902. Suppl. Vol. 1901. Valuable brief notes. [2035. d.]

Evans, Charles. AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY. 8 Vols. An exhaustive work, from the earliest press (1639) to the nineteenth century. [2035. g.]

The curious reader will perhaps notice that the second thing printed on an American press was " An Almanack calculated for New England," by William Pierce.

Whitcombe's CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINES OF AMERICAN LITERATURE [11853 pp. 16], and

Tyler's AMERICAN LITERATURE [11850. m. 1], are shorter works, but useful.

Stevens, H. CATALOGUE OF AMERICAN BOOKS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AT CHRISTMAS, 1856. A convenient list of older works. [2035. c.]

Professor Barrett Wendel's LITERARY HISTORY OF AMERICA, London, 1901, is interesting and informative. [2039. b.]

## The Missionary Labours of the Pilgrims among the Indians.

Most of the works dealing with the Plymouth Settlement refer to the efforts of the Pilgrims to evangelize the Aborigines. Goodwin's *Pilgrim Republic* contains useful information. See especially p. 531 and the following fifteen or sixteen pages. The remark (quoted p. 546) of Dr. S. G. Drake should be noted. He says of the Pilgrims that "their immense labour to Christianize [the Indians] prove their sincerity to benefit them." Dr. S. G. Drake is the defender of the Indians in and out of season.

The following works will be found useful :

1649. THE GLORIOUS PROGRESS OF THE GOSPEL AMONGST THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND. Published by Edward Winslow. A letter from Thomas Mayhew, Jr., and three from John Eliot. [E. 557 (11).]

1651. THE LIGHT APPEARING, etc. A FURTHER DISCOVERY OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND, by H. Whitfield. London. 4to. Whitfield visited Mayhew and saw his work in Martha's Vineyard. [E. 624 (3).]

1794. COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Vol. III., contains John Cotton's letter to Robert Boyle. And Eliot's reports of the state of the Indian Missions in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. [Ac. 8400.]

1848. MISSIONS TO THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. London (R.T.S.). 12mo. An excellent short account of mission work in New England. [4419. f. 48.]

1897. THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY AND THEIR MISSIONARIES. ALSO THE JOURNALS OF EXPERIENCE MAYHEW IN 1713–14. [4766. dd. 20.] London. 8vo.

W. PIERCE.

## The Mate of the *Mayflower*

THE Pilgrim Fathers shed a radiance on all who were associated with them, even for one voyage only. The captain of the *Mayflower* was identified by Professor Arber as Christopher Jones, and his career has been worked out by Professor Rendel Harris. The owner has been shown by the latter scholar to be Thomas Horth of Yarmouth, who used the ship now to bring whale-oil from the Arctic for his soap works, now to bring bay-salt from Bayonne for his bloaters, with wines from Rochelle. Horth was apparently a Puritan with relations at Leyden, certainly was one of the Adventurers who financed the Pilgrims. The mate of the *Mayflower* is now identified by Miss Irene A. Wright, from the Spanish Archives at Seville and Simancas, whence she has produced two of his depositions, with kindred papers. These are printed with translations and notes in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1920. From them and other sources an interesting and important story unfolds.

This John Clark is not the Separatist examined on 5th April, 1593, who was then about fifty years old, a husbandman of Walsoken in Norfolk; but a Londoner born about 1573 or 1576. He took to the sea about 1605, visiting various parts of the world. In 1609 he became a pilot, and was in the harbour of Malaga when Don Luis Faxardo was captain-general of a great fleet about to start thence for Tunis, where it burned twenty-two ships of the Barbary corsairs. On one of these ships the pilot was an English Catholic

of Lisbon, Francis Lymbry, who had been a pilot on the Spanish Armada in 1588. Men of the old religion still felt as one, whatever the land of their birth. But Clark was of a younger generation, with the pride of race, and can hardly have esteemed Lymbry. Six years earlier, he himself could hardly have felt secure in a Spanish harbour where the Inquisition was established, but the treaty of London (1603) now secured that no English subjects should be molested for their religion unless they gave offence to Catholic feelings within Spanish dominions.

By Papal grant, and agreement between Spanish and Portuguese, all lands west of 50° west longitude belonged to Spain. The French were first to challenge this, but the Spanish exterminated a Huguenot colony at Beaufort "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." The French avengers who hanged the Spanish garrison "not as Spaniards but as traitors, robbers and murderers" were equally silent as to the Papal award. The English had no restraint of religion, nationality or commerce, and in 1586 Drake almost destroyed the Spanish headquarters of San Augustine; but it was restored, and explorations were carried out as far north as Port Royal, especially by Captain Ecija, who noted the frequent failures of Gilbert and Raleigh to plant colonies. On the death of the latter, his plans were taken up by the London Company, who placed some colonists on the James River in 1607. The Spanish council of war in the Indies at once advised that this be forcibly suppressed, and asked for ten galleons building at Dunkirk. The home authorities, however, did nothing, but reinforcements at Jamestown in 1609 stirred deeper apprehensions. The governor of Florida was directed to make enquiries, and he sent Captain Ecija. Through a Frenchman of Havre, ransomed on purpose from the natives, a rather terrifying account of the military strength of the new settlement was obtained. So when in July Ecija descried off James-

town a ship far larger than his own, he remembered his country's maxim that "there was no peace beyond the line" of fifty west longitude. Hastily returning he drew up a report attributing to the English the intention of marching on New Mexico and launching a fleet on the Pacific. The council of war in the Indies kept this report for two years, then forwarded it home with a suggestion that two Jesuits should be chosen from the English seminaries at Valladolid and Seville, and should be sent to England to ship thence to Virginia, spy out everything, and report to Spain.

It is at this point that John Clark began unwittingly to play an important part. In 1611 Sir Thomas Dale equipped three ships to take out large reinforcements provided with mares, cows, pigs and goats. One of his pilots was Clark. They sailed towards the Canaries, then stretched across to Domenica and Nevis for water, past Port Rico and up the coast, reaching Point Comfort in May. This route through the Spanish Main shows an unbounded contempt for Spanish monopoly. But in their wake came a caravel from Spain itself, fully aware of their purpose, primed by the ambassador in London. Under guise of searching for the guns of a vessel of Florida supposed to have been wrecked, the intention was to reconnoitre and obtain details as to this audacious settlement. It was piloted by the Englishman of Lisbon, Lymbry; and at San Augustin took a pinnace as consort. The Spaniards arrived off James River six weeks later than the English, and it says something for their courage that they set ashore the commander of the expedition with an ensign, and Lymbry. Whatever chance they had was instantly destroyed when the lastnamed was recognized by Clark, and the three were disarmed. Clark in his turn took risks, and boarded the caravel, offering to pilot it up river. The master, however, would not bring it under the guns of the fort, and held Clark as hostage. Captain Davis would not exchange the three prisoners

for the one, and the master took Clark down to Havana. Here he was examined strictly, and his abundant nautical knowledge was duly recorded, together with what he chose to tell about Jamestown, an account that probably did not lose in the telling. And thus the Spaniards secured, in an unexpected way, exactly what they had desired. They also learned that the settlement, already too strong to be easily destroyed, was to be reinforced in August by another squadron under Sir Thomas Gates, who was to take over command from George Percy.

The Council in the Indies proposed to Philip that he should ask for the release of the three. London agreed to exchange the two Spaniards for Clark, and he was forwarded to Seville, thence to Madrid, being well treated. Here he was examined afresh in 1613, every possible detail as to English forts, settlements, and intentions, being enquired about. It does not increase our respect for Clark that whereas at Havana he had declared himself of the religion of his king, at Madrid he professed to be a Catholic. On his information, with more news from the Spanish ambassador in England, it was debated whether it were worth while sending an expedition to drive the English away. Finally it was agreed that as there were no gold or silver mines there, it would be good policy to let the English alone, for if they turned their attention to that worthless country, they would cease to annoy the Spanish settlements. The negotiations as to exchange of prisoners dragged slowly, and the unfortunate ensign died. In 1616, however, the matter was settled; Dale hanged Lymbry on a voyage homewards, and few will pity the Traitor-spy; Clark was handed over to the English ambassador in Madrid, on whose receipt the commander was delivered to the Spanish ambassador in London.

Clark at once re-entered the Virginian trade and made several voyages taking out many cattle from

Ireland in 1619. When, therefore, Robert Cushman next year was equipping an expedition in London to take the Pilgrims to Virginia, he was glad to hire Clark, which he did before he began negotiating for the *Mayflower*. Christopher Jones was not familiar with American waters, and probably he was willing to profit by Clark's knowledge of the routes. But they met such storms that for days together they "could not bear a knot of sail"; and when they made Cape Cod, they were unable to get further south. So Clark's Virginian experience was of no special value, and the pilgrims turned to the books and maps of Captain John Smith, which they had providently brought. These showed where they were, and indicated across the bay the mouth of a stream where Smith thought a town might be founded, on which he had conferred the name Plymouth. Without at once adopting his suggestion, they began to explore. Clark took a share in the "third discovery," and after a storm was the first to step on an island three miles north-east of the future Plymouth; this was named, in his honour, Clark's Island.

> The modest isle of yonder bay,
> Screened from the rougher blasts and spray,
> There, long by storm and billow driven,
> With mast and sail to fragments riven,
> The wanderers sought its welcome shore,
> And safe their struggling shallop moor;
> There watchful met the earliest dawn,
> Which first revealed the sabbath morn,
> That prayer and praise might o'er the deep
> Their swelling strains harmonious keep.

Clark was fortunate enough to escape the sickness that carried off many of the crew and officers, besides half the emigrants, and he set sail back in April, 1621, intending, according to Bradford, to return and fish for whale next winter.

Ten months later he was made a free Brother of the

Virginia Company, in consideration of his good service, and had some shares of land bestowed on him in July, 1622. It would be extremely interesting to know whether he took out Henry Jacob that year. The Puritans had been increasing their settlements, Blackwell going in 1618, Lawne in 1619, William Bennett in 1620, while Daniel Gookin transplanted others in 1621 to New Port-Newce, and Nathaniel Basse took more next year. Jacob had promised to go, was amicably released from his pastorate in London, and made his will in October, 1622, shortly before embarking, expecting his sons to follow in spring. Now Clark was engaged by Gookin to take out the *Providence*, which arrived in Virginia on 10th April. Jacob's will was proved in May, 1624, but search has not been made for Clark's will, though he died in Virginia about the same time.

His story reminds us that the Pilgrims were not the first successful colony of English, nor even of Puritans. Even more remarkable is it, that a project for a Spanish Armada to destroy these colonies had been abandoned, on the evidence given by Clark. Little did the Pilgrims know that but for the pilot of their *Mayflower*, Spain would have blotted out the English at Jamestown as she had the French at Fort Caroline. To his information that there was no gold or silver, that the only exports were timber and sassafras, was due the immunity from attack which allowed the foothold to be strengthened, and encouraged the Pilgrims to plan that emigration, whose success altered the destiny of the New World.

W. T. Whitley.

## The Psalmody of the Pilgrims

EVERYONE is familiar with the lines of the poet who, narrating the Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, declares that

> "They shook the depths of the forest gloom
> With their hymns of lofty cheer."

Not so familiar is the testimony of Winslow that on the eve of their departure from Leyden, "we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of Psalms, making joyful melody with our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard."

It is natural to inquire what Psalms did the Pilgrims sing? The familiar "Old Version" of Sternhold, Hopkins, and their collaborators is, of course, possible, but unlikely, unless there were no available version more nearly approaching the Puritan ideal of close conformity to the Hebrew text. And there was such a version ready to hand, which had the additional recommendation of a Non-conformist Origin. Longfellow is in all likelihood right in his word-picture of Priscilla Mullens at her spinning-wheel:—

> "Open wide on her lap lay the well-worn Psalm-book of Ainsworth,
> Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,
> Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the wall of a churchyard,
> Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses;
> Such was the book from whose pages she sang the old Puritan anthem."

Henry Ainsworth, probably descended from a Lancashire family, was born in Norfolk about 1570. Of his early life nothing is certainly known; but soon after the judicial murders of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry we find him associated with the exiled church of Separatists at Amsterdam, in great poverty, but already in high repute for learning. He was chosen Teacher, and afterwards Pastor, of the Church, and beside numerous controversial writings he produced commentaries on several books of Holy Scripture, which continued to be much esteemed for quite two hundred years after his death. His Psalter appeared in 1612; and he died about 1623.

The full title of the Psalter is as follows:—

THE BOOK OF | PSALMS: | Englished both in Prose | and Metre | with Annotations, opening the words | and sentences, by conference | with other Scriptures | By H. A. | Ephe. 5. 18. 19. | Be ye filled with the Spirit: speaking to your- | selves in Psalms and hymns, and spi- | ritual Songs: singing and making | melodie in your hart | to the Lord. | Imprinted at Amsterdam | By Giles Thorp. | Ao. Di. 1612.‖

There were impressions in 1617, 1626, and 1639, and a modern reprint in 1846. The original edition, a square quarto, is described as "a curiosity in the way of printing, as every available type appears to have been used from Old English to italics, and as these are jumbled together indiscriminately, the printed page displays a remarkable and certainly very unusual appearance."

About one third of the whole version is in ballad metre; the remainder exhibits thirteen metrical forms, five of them being in ten-syllable lines. The verse is often very rugged; the use of the divine name "Jah" is frequent; and the Hebrew Musical Note "Selah" is always inserted (not as a parenthesis, but as part of the metre), and is often made to rhyme with "obey."

Another interesting feature is that occasionally two or three words are joined by hyphens, to show that they together represent one word of the Original.

The following extracts may serve as specimens of Ainsworth's versification :—

Ps. 23, 1–4.—" Jehovah feedeth me, I shall not lack,
In grassy folds, he down dooth make me lye :
he gently-leads me, quiet Waters by,
He dooth return my soul : for his name sake,
in paths of justice leads-me-quietly.
Yea, though I walk, in dale of deadly shade,
ile fear none yll ; for with me thou wilt be :
thy rod thy staff eke, they shall comfort me.
Fore me, a table thou hast ready-made ;
in their presence that my distressers be."

Ps. 24, 1–2—" The earth, it is Jehovah's, and the plenteousness of it,
The habitable world, and they that in the same do sit ;
For he upon the watry seas hath founded it secure,
And on the flowing rivers hath the same established
Sure."

In view of the dangers and uncertainties before them, we may well suppose that one Psalm sung at the gathering of which Winslow tells us would be No. 121 :—

" I lift mine eyes up to the Mounts
from whence shal come mine aide ;
Mine ayde it comes from with the LORD,
Which heav'ns and earth hath made.
Let him not give thy foot to slide,
nor slumber that thee keeps.
Loe, he that keepeth Israel,
he slumbers not, nor sleeps.
The Lord thy keeper is ; the Lord
thy shade, at thy hand right.
The Sun shall not smite thee by day,
Neyther the Moon by night.
The Lord wil keep thee from all ev'l,
thy sowl he keeps-alway.
The Lord, thine outgate and th' income
keeps, henceforth and for aye."

"Amid the storm they sang," says our modern poet: and more than once on their voyage they would have occasion to give thanks for deliverance, probably in these identical words.

"They that in ships unto the sea down goe
that in the many waters labour doe,
They see Jehovah's operatiöns
and in the deep his wondrous-actiön
For he sayth, and dooth rayse the wind stormy,
and it dooth lift the waves thereof on hye.
They mount to heav'ns, down to the deeps they goe,
their sowl, it melts away in evil-woe:
They reel and stagger like a drunken-wight,
and all their wisdom is upswallowed quight.
And to the LORD they cry in their distress
and he out-brings them from their anguishes.
The storm he to a silent-caulm dooth set;
and then their waves alayèd-are-quièt;
And they rejoyce because they are made-still,
and he them leads to haven of their will.
Confess they to Jehovah his mercy,
his marvels eke, to sonns of man-earthly."

We may be sure that there was no ceremonial "Foundation" of New Plymouth; but we may be almost equally sure that the builders of the original log-houses lightened their toll with song; and what song could be more fitting to their circumstances and expectations than their own 127th?

"Unless the Lord doo build the house
her builders toyl in vayn;
Unless the Lord the city keep
the keeper wakes in vayn
It's vayn for you to rise early,
to sit up late, to feed
on bread of sorrowes; so will We
give sleep to his Lovèd.
Loe, sonns are the LORD'S heritance,
fruit of the womb his wage,
As arrowes in a strong man's hand
are sonnes of yowthful age.

O blessed is the man that hath
his quiver fylld with those ;
they shal not blush, when in the gate
they speak shal with the foes."

With regard to the musical arrangement of the Pilgrim's Psalms, several of the tunes are those that were already familiar in the widely circulated "Day's Psalter," especially the Old 44th and 81st (D.C.M.), Old 51st and 100th (L.M.), Old 50, 112, 113, 124, and 148. There is also the C.M. "Windsor," from Este's Psalter of 1591 ; but the majority of the tunes are not found in the English Psalters of the time ; they are "selected from the gravest and easiest tunes of the French and Dutch Psalters." And this, no doubt, in part accounts for the fact that Ainsworth's Psalms, notwithstanding their real merit, failed to gain extensive popularity ; Englishmen are instinctively conservative, and by long usage were biased in favour of ballad metre, and against unfamiliar metrical forms imported from the Continent. Another reason was that, in spite of their all but idolatrous reverence for the letter of Scripture, those who objected to the use in worship of stringed instruments and organs as unmeaning sound could clearly perceive that Hebrew "Selah's" interjected into English Psalms were equally unmeaning. It thus came about that when "The Bay Psalm Book" appeared in 1640 it gradually supplanted the work of Ainsworth.

It is almost a misnomer to call this "Bay Psalm Book" (the first English book printed in America), one of the curiosities of *literature ;* though a curiosity it certainly is, as it is doubtful whether more than about a dozen copies of it now exist.

This "Bay Psalm Book" was not the work of the Pilgrim Fathers, and it was only by degrees that it was accepted by their children. Its authors were Richard Mather, Thomas Weld, and John Eliot, members of the Massachusetts Colony, by which that of Plymouth

was ultimately absorbed. It was in ballad metre throughout, and literal enough to satisfy the most exacting Puritan; but from a literary point of view it is unmitigated doggerel.

Here are a couple of specimens of the Psalms which the men of the *Mayflower did not* sing :—

Ps. 50—" The Mighty God, the Lord hath spoke,
and he the earth doth call
from the uprising of the sun
thereof until the fall.
The Mighty God hath clearly shyn'd
out of the Mount Siòn,
which is of beauty excellent
the full perfect-i-on, etc."

Ps. 137—" The rivers on of Babilon
there when wee did sit downe
Yea, even then wee mournèd when
We remembred Siòn.
Our harps we did hang it amid
upon the willow tree,
Because that they that us away
led in captivitee
Required, etc."

A third edition, with considerable revision, appeared in 1650; it is doubtful whether the revision effected much real improvement. However, it was frequently reprinted, both in England and America, under the name of " The New England Psalm Book "; and was much used by English Dissenters till far into the eighteenth century.

T. G. C.

## Some *Mayflower* Family Connections

IN the list of voyagers in the *Mayflower* (viii. 1, p. 8) there is an unfortunate omission in reference to Francis Cooke. He was the son of Richard Cooke of Gidea Hall, Essex, and grandson of Sir Anthony Cooke; nephew, therefore, of four ladies who were eminent both for learning and for the distinguished position they held in society. These were Lady Cecil, wife of William Cecil, Lord Burghley; Lady Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and mother of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam; Lady Killigrew, wife of Sir William Killigrew; and Lady Russell, wife of Sir John Russell. Whence it follows that our Pilgrim Francis Cooke was first cousin to the renowned author of the "Novum Organum" and the "Advancement of Learning." He has the further distinction of being an ancestor, on the spindle side, of Honourable W. H. Taft, who was president of the United States from 1909 to 1913.

Francis Cooke had three sons and four daughters. His eldest son John married Sarah Warren (of the *Anne*), and became a Baptist minister. His daughter Jane married Experience Mitchell of the *Anne*, from which marriage President Taft is descended.

Sir Ralph Warren, Lord Mayor in 1536 and 1543, had a son Richard and a daughter Joan. The latter married Sir Henry Williams *alias* Cromwell. His son Robert Cromwell married Elizabeth Stewart of Ely, said to have been related to the royal family of Scotland. This Robert and Elizabeth were the parents of the Lord Protector Oliver. It is *supposed* but *not certainly established* that Richard Warren, the brother

of Joan, who died in 1597, had a son of the same name, who was the Warren of the *Mayflower*. In that case the latter would be a second cousin of Oliver. This supposition is in some degree corroborated by the fact that the widow of Sir Ralph Warren married Sir Thomas White; and that the names of White and Warren are associated (Nos. 11 and 12) among the Signatories to the "Compact" signed on board the *Mayflower* at Cape Cod on 16th November, 1620.

T. W. Mason.

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## Robert Browne's Wife—A Correction

SURELY Mr. Burrage makes a bad slip in his "True Story of Robert Browne," p. 28, where he says, concerning the question where Browne met his [first] wife, Alice Allen of Yorkshire:—

"This difficulty is easily removed by the view that Alice Allen was one of Browne's own company, even the "Sister Allens" whom he had at one time unjustly criticized, and whom he mentions once toward the end of "A True and Short Declaration."

It is difficult to see why Mr. Burrage did not correct this slip in his "Early English Dissenters"; for there (I. 108) he gives the persons named in the "Declaration" as Members of the Middleburg congregation as:

"Robert Browne (the pastor) and his wife; Robert Harrison, his sister, and probably his brother, William Harrison; Charles Munneman or Moneman (Moneyman ?), John Chandler, and Tobie Henson."

The pertinent passages in "A True and Short Declaration" are:—

C. 3 recto. "There were sundrie meetings procured

against R. B. by R. H. and his Partkers for certaine tales and slanders were brought to R. H. which he straightway received and delt against R. B. the accusations in the first meettinge were that *R. B. condemned his Sister Allens as a reprobate.* Alsoe he saied, she had not repented of her abominations in England. Also that he saied, except she repented of her abominations that night, she would never enter into the Kingdom of God. To these it was answered and witnesses taken, first that he nether did call nor judge his sister for a reprobate, and that he had [too] hastlie harckned to tales in that matter, also witness came in that he saied not to his sister, she had not at all repented, of those abominations in England, But that neither she nor we all were sufficiently mortified for them."

It seems obvious from this that "his Sister Allens" is R. H.'s sister [and altogether distinct from the pastor's wife]. Any possible doubt, however, is removed on the next page :—

C. 4 recto (foot). "The faults they Laied Against him Were, For rebuking Robt. H. Sister of Want of Love And off abhorring The Pastor; Which They Counted a Slander. Like Wise For Rebuking her of Judgeing Wrong Fullie on the Printer, Which Was also made a slander."

Cf. also B. vers. B 2. "This R. H. confirmed saiing that he found it true; because bie his meanes *certain sisters off his when* he taught and exhorted them were called and wonne. *But howe far thei and others were wonne it is afterward declared.*"

Evidently, therefore, "Sister Allens" is a sister of Robert Harrison; married or unmarried as Allens is surname or Christian name.

A. Peel.

## The Staffordshire Covenanters

WE have lately met with a scarce pamphlet bearing the following title :—

"A Testimony of the Ministers of the County of Stafford to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to the Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Errours, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these times, and the Toleration of them : 1648."

Documents of this character, differing in expression, but for the most part identical in substance, were published in each of the counties in which the Presbyterian settlement of 1646 took effect. Alike intolerant in principle, they varied in the degree—or perhaps in the frank avowal—of their intolerance. The Staffordshire testimony admits that "some of Eminent Worth and Piety" dissent from them in the particulars of Church Government; with whom they desire "a sweet accommodation," if only the dissentients will "abate of their love to their yet unproved opinions," and consider "how God hath blasted their Congregational Way with sects, schisms, separations, and sub-separations, to their shame, our grief, and the woful destruction of the whole kingdom."

The following are the Signatories :—

John Taylor, Checkley
Nicholas Paston, Kingswinford
Ithiel Smart, Wombourn
Thomas Burdall, Walsall
Joseph Sounde, Minister of God's Word
John Jackson, Madeley
Robert Dowley, Elford
George Crosse, Clifton Camville
William Brooks, Assistant to Pastor of Cl. Ca.

Richard Bell, Stafford
Sampson Newton, Chebsey
Thomas Lightfoot, Uttoxeter
Thomas Allsop, Cheadle
William Langley, Elaston
Deliverance Phynihouse, Leigh
John Smith, Audley
Alexand. Hocc, Rector de Dreycott-en-le Moores
Zachariah Crofton, Newcastle-under-Line
Isaac Kelling, Wolstanton
Charles Winne, Penne
Edward Barton, Wodnesbury
Richard Bourne, Cannock
John Bould, Alrewas
Philip Sharp, Bromley Regis
Roger Smith, Norton juxta Cannock
Edward Neville, Standon
Nathaniel Hinde, Penkridge
John Dolman, Brewood
William Jennings, Church Eaton
Henry Stubbe, Bloore
Francis Bowyer, Leek
Ro. Ward, Horton
Chris. Turnor de Grindon
Garvin Hamilton, Alstonfield
Thomas Mounteneys, Ilon
John Bowyer, Biddulph
Francis Stone, School Mr., Walsall
Saml. Frankland, Sch. Mr., Lichfield

## The Presbyterian Paternoster, Etc.

(*Continued from p.* 33.)

THE case was heard by the Lord Mayor and the City Recorder. The Lord Mayor for 1680–81 was Sir Patience Ward, a considerable city Merchant, a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company; who had been married as a Friend with the homely Quaker rite to the daughter of Alderman William Hobson. He was elected Alderman for Farringdon Ward Within on 18th October, 1670, and Sheriff for the civic year 1670-71; he had been knighted 29th October, 1675, and was one of the leaders of the Whig party in the city. The Recorder was Sir George Treby, who had lately replaced the notorious Sir George Jeffries. The indictment runs as follows:—

"*Thomas Ashenden* of London, Clericus,
"*Nathaniel Thompson* of London, Printer,
"and *Joseph Hindmarsh* of London, Stationer,
"Being impious and profane persons with no fear of God in their "hearts, on 19th February, 2 Car. 32, in St. Dunstans in the West, "printed and published a certain impious and blasphemous libel "intituled The Presbyterian Pater Noster, Creed, and Ten Com-"mandments."

The witnesses prepared to justify the description of it, by a knowledge of its contents were five, viz., *Daniel Watson*, *Bridget Bartholomew*, *Robert Ford*, *James Collins*, and *Ben Willis*. Of these Collins was a Bookseller; and we can well imagine that if he were a Tory (one of the Court Party), and had picked up a copy in the shop of his rival Hindmarsh, he would be eager so to use it as to compass that rival's ruin. His

shop was in Essex Buildings, behind the Temple; and he got a neighbour, Benjamin Willis, who carried on business as a tailor in the same buildings, to purchase a copy and bear witness against it. Two other of the witnesses were in the service of another bookseller, Ben Harris by name, viz., Bridget Bartholomew, his housemaid, and Robert Ford, perhaps his apprentice. His shop was in the Piazza in the Royal Exchange; and it looks as if he hoped, by sending these to purchase each a copy for him and to act under his instruction, to show his loyalty and penitence. For just a year before he had been fined £500 and set in the pillory for publishing seditious libels. But there was a yet more pungent personal motive; for Ashenden pillories him in the broadsheet as one of the four who "thrice a week the Kingdom scare" by their publications. The remaining witness, Watson, was servant to a Mr. Green, a glass-man in the Poultry, by whom he was sent to buy a copy and bear his testimony.

Evidently the bookseller, Joseph Hindmarsh, had warning of what was being done; for on 1st March he appeared at the Guildhall Court, and entered into recognizances in a sum of £100, with two sureties in £50 each, for his personal appearance at the next sessions to answer the charge of Printing and Publishing the impugned libel. His sureties were "William Palmer, of Ladbrook, Warwick County, Armiger, and John Barker of St. Mary Aldermanbury, Waxchandler." About the latter we have no information; the former belonged to the county family of Palmer, who for many generations owned the manor and park at Ladbrook, about two miles from Southam.

The next sessions were held at the Old Bailey from the 11th to the 14th of April. Hindmarsh pleaded guilty, and was ordered into custody—in other words, committed to Newgate. He seems to have been released soon afterwards, on promising to withdraw

from sale and destroy any copies of the broadsheet that he had in stock.

Whether or not the printer, Nathaniel Thompson, appeared at the same time and suffered a similar penalty I do not know. But I find that six months later he appeared before the Lord Mayor and Recorder, being indicted for printing and publishing three other scandalous and seditious pamphlets, viz. :—

(1.) "A Dialogue between the Devil and Ignoramus Doctor Poore," *i.e.* Dr. Titus Oates.

(2.) "The Prisoner's Complaints."

(3.) "An Excellent New Ballad."

Of the Author, *Rev. Thomas Ashenden*, fortunately, we know more. The Sessions Roll does not tell us whether he appeared before the Lord Mayor and the Recorder—as did his Publisher (and probably his Printer), but we know that he was very promptly and drastically dealt with by his ecclesiastical superiors. However much tempted or inclined to condone his action—or even to rejoice at it—as a keen thrust at Dissenters, and as meant for a defence of the Church of England, they could not pass over such a scandal to "the cloth" as the publication by one of the Anglican clergy of such a blasphemous travesty of the most central, vital, and, therefore, most sacred parts of Divine Service as rendered in every Parish Church, as a caricature or Parody of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Decalogue.

He was doubtless "presented" at the Consistory Court in Peterboro', convicted of "profane abuse of all three," and sentenced to make a Public Recantation of his Offences. Only such a public penalty could save him from being unfrocked, and spare him to continue in Holy Orders. But this he eagerly consented to do.

The Public Recantation took place in Peterborough Cathedral on the 5th of June. The event made sufficient stir at the time to demand a mention of it in so

condensed a Chronicle of the bare facts of English History as Salmon's "Chronological Historian," published fifty years later, in August, 1732.

Under date 5th June, 1681, we find this :—

"Mr. *Thomas Ashenden*, having written a Libel against the "Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, made "a publick Recantation of his Errors in the Cathedral Church "of Peterborough."

And a full account of the incident was published in No. 1625 of the "London Gazette," for a transcript of which I am indebted to our friend Rev. Alex. Gordon. It reads as follows :—

"*Peterborough.* June 9 (Thursday).

Last Sunday, Mr. *Thomas* "*Ashenden*, Rector of *Dingley*, in the County of Northampton, "did publickly, as part of his Censures, make this Recantation "in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough* at the time of Divine "Service, he being enjoyned thereunto by the Right Reverend "*William*, Lord Bishop of *Peterborough*, who was present, together "with the Reverend Dean, *Dr. Patrick*, some of the Prebends, with "several Persons of Quality :

"I, Thomas Ashenden, being deeply sensible of the foul dishonour "'I have done to our most Holy Religion, and the great scandal "'I have given by a late profane abuse of the Lord's Prayer, the "'Creed, and the Ten Commandments, Which I wrote and caused "'to be Published, Do here, in the presence of God, and of his Minis-"'ters, and of this Congregation, most heartily bewail with unfeigned "'sorrow both that notorious offence, and also all my other sins "'which betrayed me unto it : most humbly begging forgiveness "'of God, and of His Church, whose heaviest Censures I have justly "'deserved. And I earnestly desire that none of my Brethren (*sic*) "'(much less our Holy Function, or the Church), may be the worse "'thought of by reason of my miscarriages : So I do faithfully "'promise by God's Grace, to endeavour to behave myself hereafter "'so Religiously in my Place and Calling, that I may not be any "'more a discredit to them. In which Resolution that I may per-"'sist, I beg and implore the assistance of your Prayers, and desire "'withal, that this my Retractation, and sincere profession of Repen-"'tance, may be made as publick as my Crimes have been, that "'none may be tempted hereafter, to do evil by my example.'"

Thomas Ashenden was naturally anxious to do what he could to rehabilitate himself in the good esteem of the Clergy and laity of his Church, and he hit upon the

expedient of writing and publishing a letter, addressed to his Publisher as from a member of the reading public who often frequented his shop, and who had casually lighted upon the broadsheet which had caused such scandal and brought its author into such disgrace; and who after carefully reading it had come to the conclusion that it and its author had been too severely handled—and that though there was culpable "gaucherie" in its form, the intentions of the author were good, and his representation of the positions and spirit of the Presbyterians were so true that such an *exposé* might be welcomed and its error of form forgiven by all genuine friends of the Established Church and convinced opponents of Nonconformity.

While there can be no doubt that it was written by *Thomas Ashenden* himself, it is so ingeniously conceived, and astutely carried out, that while it is manifestly intended to be taken as the verdict of an impartial stranger utterly ignorant of the authorship of the anonymous sheet, there is no single sentence, phrase, or word inconsistent with the fact that the writer of the letter was himself the author of the libel.

For the liberal extracts from it which follow, I am again indebted to Rev. Alex Gordon.

The letter is entitled:

"Some Reflections Upon A Late Pamphlet, In A Letter to J. H." [expanded to *Jos. Hindmarsh* in a comtemporary hand].

"Sir,

It is out of a particular respect to you that I write these "few hasty Lines, I being a Frequenter of your Shop, where I "always was sure to meet with things Ingenious and Loyal (I "mean in the way of your Trade) without any appearance of those "lewd and seditious *Pamphlets* which in these Licentious Times "swarm from the Deplorable Liberty of the Press. [Sixteen-and-a-"half lines against the liberty of the press.] But enough of "Preamble.

"The Intent of these Lines is to make a few Reflections upon "a Pamphlet which met me Yesterday: I am sorry to hear your "Shop should Credit such a Scurrilous, if not Prophane Paper;

" However I am pleas'd to hear that you, by the immediate stifling " it, have stopt the Mouths of those hot Zealots, who make " Mountains of Molehills, and greedily snatch at any Occasions " to expose the Failings of their Opposers, as they have done by " this rash Author, whose Supereminent Zeal for Loyalty was " perhaps the only Occasion of his Indiscretion in venturing upon " such Irreligious Allusions, they themselves not thinking their " Familiarity and Sawciness with God Almighty, hath been more " directly and notoriously Prophane, and thereby given occasion " to this and many the like *Pamphlets*.

" Well then, it's my opinion upon the perusal of that Paper, that " the Author the more strongly to express the vile Hypocrisie of our " Dissenters, was resolved to expose them in their natural Colours ; " and I imagin he thought of no better way than under this Title " to make their Principles and Practices, diametrically opposite to " the very Fundamentals of Christian Religion ; for in that Pamph- " let he hath dislodged the several Petitions of the Holy Prayer, " and Articles of the Creed, etc., and in their room hath planted " his own sharp Reflections. This (I suppose) he did, as thinking " the Dignity of their new place and seat would make them appear " with greater lustre, and a more advantageous state and pomp of " Satyr. Besides (I suppose) he thought that as the Novelty of " this odd Allusion would make his Descriptions more remarkable, " by bearing relation to those familiar parts of our Religion, so it " would fix the designed Contumely and Scandal against Dis- " senters so much the deeper in the mind of the Reader, the Matter " of Fact being undeniable, though unhappily represented under a " sacred Title.

" Sir, my general Charity obligeth me to think well of all men, " and that the Sentiments of the Author were not designedly " Atheisticall or Profane, though an indiscreet Tale hath laid him " under the Censure of both. The Picture of the Persons he de- " signed to draw, comes very near the Life, but his Prudence might " have chosen a more sutable Frame to set it in, than that of the " Sacred Word. For though 'tis true, that *Scandalum acceptum* " is not always *Scandalum datum ;* yet it is ill playing with such " edged Tools, especially in a Juncture when very ill consequences " may happen by the weakness of some, and malice of others. I " am not ignorant that things of this nature have been done with " less noise and outcry, than was yesterday made about this ; " yet it was ill timed now, when as our tottering Affairs are so " unsteddy, that the Sentiments of the People are made the Test " of Truth. For my own part, I blush at the Author's imprudent " choice of his Title, but can't conceive the substance of the thing " absolutely Profane ; for it is evident the Author's design was not " at all to vilifie the Essentials of our Religion, but only by this

" Ludicrous Allusion to render the Persons, there pointed at more " familiarly and plainly detestable.

" To conclude, I believe you (like me) thought that Pamphlet " uncapable of giving such distaste, or that from so slight " occasion so great a noise should arise, which made it at first " find a place on your Counter, but since it hath been an " occasion of so much Discourse, I commend your discretion in " denying it a place in your Shop; it being wisdom in all " persons who desire the Peace of the Nation, not to engage " themselves in anything which may increase or continue our " Aminosities.

I am,
Sir,
Your servant,
T.A.

Printed for *Joseph Hindmarsh* at the *Black Bull* in *Cornhill*, 1681.

There can be no question that this was meant to be an " apologia " alike for himself as the author and of Joseph Hindmarsh as the Publisher and Vendor of the Presbyterian Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments.

In conclusion a few annotations may not be unacceptable as showing alike the animus, the ignorant unfairness, and the special timeliness of the publication.

I. *In the Title.* The use of the familiar Latin designation " Pater Noster " for the Lord's Prayer may be intended to suggest the Roman Catholic usage; and so to link Presbyterianisms with Papistry, as if one were in league with the other in their common Recusancy.

The use here of the term Presbyterian convicts the author of great laxity. Properly it should have denoted the religion of the Directory, etc., issued by the Westminster Assembly of Divines; but much of what is here introduced belongs rather to Congregationalism.

II. *In the Paternoster.* The opening phrase, which at first strikes one as the very acme of blasphemy, is a close parallel to the words of our Lord to certain Pharisees of His day, " Ye are of your Father, the Devil." [John viii. 44.]

III. *In the Creed.* (*a*) Among the sons of Calvin, described in the margin as "the only saints" recognized by the Presbyterians, only one was such avowedly and consistently; viz., William Jenkins, ejected from Christ Church, Newgate, whose licences under the Indulgence of 1672 are the very first in E.B. 27. Richard Baxter was perhaps nearer to Presbyterianism than to any other system; but he refused to be so described, or by any sectarian denomination, and insisted on being called simply a Nonconformist. "Owen" is, of course, Dr. John Owen, sometime Vice-chancellor of Oxford University, the great champion of Congregationalism. The fact is that Ashenden, like many State-Church parsons and laity through all the centuries since 1662, knew so little of Nonconformists that he lumped them all together, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, as if ignorant of the difference between them.

(*b*) "The Year of Toleration" is an inaccurate description of the year of *Indulgence*, 15th March, 1671-2 to 15 February, 1672-3; during which there was *no General Toleration*, but simply a permission to worship otherwise than according to the ritual of the Established Church, granted as of especial royal favour to those who sought and secured licences to do so under the signatures of the king and one of the Secretaries of State. This was a very different matter.

(*c*) "The Lord S. . . ." is of course Satan. [*Query if not rather Lord Shaftesbury, a prominent leader of the Whigs, and chief promoter of the Exclusion Bill; caricatured by Dryden as Achitophel.*—Ed.].

(*d*) This last clause is rather unfortunate; for although, under the bitter persecution of the Clarendon code, they were driven to plead for Toleration, the Presbyterians when, in the heyday of their prosperity, they had the status of an Established Church, were strongly opposed to the Toleration of any form of worship or religion except what was formulated

in the Directory and the Westminster Confession of Faith.

IV. *In the Commandments.* (*ii.*) The exception of "S. Oliver" from the general unlawfulness of Image making or worship is most unfortunate; for Oliver Cromwell was a stern opponent of the bigoted exclusiveness of the Presbyterians, and espoused the greater freedom and openmindedness of the Independents.

(*iv.*) "Forty One" is of course 1641 the year immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War; the year which witnessed the Impeachment of Land and his committal to the Tower, the Attainder and Execution of Strafford, the abolition of the Star Chamber, the Commission of the North, and the High Commission, also of Ship Money; the abrogation of the king's authority to summon or dissolve Parliament at his pleasure; the passing of the Root-and-Branch Bill, threatening the extinction of the hierarchy and the Disestablishment of the Episcopal Church.

(*vii.*) This is particularly coarse, venomous, and malicious; for it is well known that the Presbyterians were especially strict in matters of sexual morality.

(*ix.*) An echo and endorsement of the insinuations of the Papist Dangerfield.

V. *In the Postscript.* (*a*) "The Plot" is that invented by Titus Oates; the line which follows is another attempt to foist on the Presbyterians the villainies of the "Meal-tub Plot."

(*b*) The reference is to the numerous petitions addressed to the king, between October, 1679, and October, 1680, to summon Parliament, which were practically refused by repeated Prorogations. These gained for the Whig or Country party the nickname of "Petitioners"; while the Tory or Court party were called "Abhorers," as professing abhorence of such disrespectful pressure being put upon the king.

(*c*) Probably Shaftesbury is meant.

(*d*) Langley Curtis and Francis Smith were both con-

victed on 5th February, 1679-80 of publishing seditious libels; and Benjamin Harris, being the same day convicted on a similar charge, was fined £500 and set in the pillory. As to Carr, Evelyn in his Diary, under date 21st December, 1667, mentions seeing him in the pillory at Charing Cross for a libel. Pepys refers to him four times: (1) on the preceding day, saying that he was punished for a petition against Lord Gerrard, which he had printed before it was presented; (2) on 20th January, 1667–8, censuring Gerrard for the severity exercised against Carr; (3) on 7th February, 1667–8, that Gerrard "designs the ruin of this man" by a charge of "running from his colours"; (4) on the following day, that Carr had "cleared himself in open courts, gaining himself the pity of all the world."

It only needs to be added that on 21st March, 1680–1, just a month after the publications of the "Presbyterian Paternoster," Charles met his fourth and last Parliament. He found it no more compliant than the former, for it at once proceeded with a new Exclusion Bill, which the king frustrated by suddenly dissolving the Parliament when it had only sat a single week. From that date till his death on 6th February, 1684–5, his rule was a pure autocracy, unrestrained by Council or Parliament. But the four years next ensuing beheld in quick succession the ill-fated attempt of Monmouth, the Bloody Assize, the Second Declaration of Indulgence, the Trial of the Seven Bishops, and The Revolution—the Dawn of Religious Liberty.

G. L. Turner.

# THE FEMALES ADVOCATE:

OR, AN

# ESSAY,

TO PROVE

That the Sisters in every Church of CHRIST, have a Right to CHURCH-GOVERNMENT as well as the BRETHREN.

Designed chiefly for the use of those of the *Congregational* and *Antipedobaptist* Persuasion; (who *Professedly* own, That *Church-Government* is wholly committed to every *Particular Church* of *Christ*) and may be of Use to all others, that own the Word of God to be the only *Rule*, and Directory for the *Right* Order, Discipline, and Government of the *Church* of *God*.

---

Humbly Presented
By *N.E.* A Lover of the Just Liberty and Purity of the *Churches* of *Christ*, of every Denomination among us this Day.

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*LONDON:*
Printed for the Author, and Sold by *S. POPPING*, at the *Black Raven* in *Paternoster Row*, and the Booksellers in *London* and *Westminster*. (Price 4d.)

The present writer, when a schoolboy, learned from an old Latin Grammar that "The masculine gender is more worthy than the feminine, and the feminine than the neuter." This opinion was long held in regard to matters social and ecclesiastical as well as grammatical; and outside the Society of Friends the Nonconformists of the seventeenth century seem generally to have accepted it as a part of their creed. Accordingly the franchise of the Church, the right to share in the election of ministers, etc., was commonly restricted to the male members. Occasionally the contrary was the case; the Ordination of Hugh Peters at Rotterdam furnishes a notable exception; but the rule was that of the Latin Grammar.

It is interesting therefore to meet with such a treatise as that of which the title-page is given opposite. It is a 32pp. pamphlet, anonymous, and apparently unknown to Dexter. There is a copy in the British Museum (701. f. 23), and one in the Congregational Library, but we cannot hear of any others. It is stated by its author to have been written several years before publication, in reply to "a then eminent Congregational Minister"; and only to have been printed at the urgent request of some who had seen it in MS.

The author begins by discussing "those two noted texts, I. Cor. xiv. 34-5 and I. Tim. ii. 12." These, he insists, can only refer to "Public and Authoritative Preaching, etc." They cannot be more binding than I. Tim. ii. 9 (about dress and adornment), "which the Ministers and Brethren at this day are willing to dispense with them in." If "all manner of speaking in the Church" is forbidden, what about singing the praises of God? or the custom which requires the sisters "to give an account of their faith, and of all work of Grace in them, in Order to their Admission into the Church"? If this be done in writing "it is really speaking, as much as God speaks to us by His written Word."

The passages quoted must surely be understood in a sense consistent with Matt. xxviii. 7-10, Mark xvi. 7, John xx. 17, 18, where women are commanded by an angel, and by Our Lord Himself, to proclaim to the Apostles the fact of His Resurrection. Luke also (xxiv. 9, 10) narrates their obedience, though not the command.

In Matt. xviii. 17 are instructions how to deal with an offending brother; if he be obstinate, "tell it to the Church." This surely applies equally to men and women, both being equally liable to be sinned against.

It is a fair presumption that it was in a meeting of the church that Sapphira was questioned by Peter, and returned an untruthful answer (Acts v. 8). Still more to the point is the case of Rhoda in Acts xii. 13-15, who comes into an unmistakable Church Meeting, "useth her Christian liberty, and is not blamed for it." A number of supposed examples are then quoted from both the Old and New Testaments, which tend rather to weaken than strengthen the argument. A reference to Acts i. 14, ii. 1, 17, 18 is more to the point.

The next refers to I. Cor. xi. 5, 6, 10, 13, 15. "There's something I conceive in those four verses that these times will not bear to speak much to; but there is nothing at all in them, unless they prove that women did speak *to* God, and *from* God in that Church."

Numerous duties are enjoined on Christians, that is Church members, in general, without distinction of sex. Moreover, II. John, v. 10 was written to a woman, and she is enjoined "to be active in opposing false teachers and false preaching, which cannot be done without speaking in, or to, the Church." And "I am apt to think that those brethren that are so much against the sisters speaking in the Church, would willingly dispense with it, were they themselves accused of a crime which none but a sister was able to prove them innocent of."

That it is the "duty, and undeniable privilege [of

Church Members] to choose their own officers," is taken as axiomatic. Acts i. 14 with 23-4-6, and vi. 1, 2 with 5 suggest no barrier of sex. To forbid speech to any, is a real depriving them of their right of election, "which is an Act of Church Tyranny."

I. Tim. v. 9, 10, shews that women held certain official positions in the Church. Surely the right to be elected implies the right to elect. "And if one in office has it, every sister has the same right; for it is not the office, but membership that gives both sisters and brethren a right to government."

"Another reason for the sisters' rights to Church Government may be taken from that great freedom and liberty Our Lord Christ Himself gave to women of free access to Him." "And it becomes not us men, under the name of the Church (which I am satisfied is abused as well in this as in many other respects) to deny those that liberty which Our Saviour so often gave them." There are references to Matt. xv. 23-8, Matt. xxvi. 7-13 with Luke vii. 37-50, Mark v. 25-34, Luke viii. 43-8, Luke xiii. 11-16, John iv. 9-26, viii. 3-11, xi. passion.

The author seeks to strengthen his position by references to Old Testament examples of women honoured by God as His messengers; as Deborah, Hannah, Huldah, King Samuel's Mother; some of whom "knew more of the Mind of God than the whole Church—more than the king, priests, Levites, and Governors." There are also references to Abigail, Esther, Elizabeth, the Mother of Our Lord, and Priscilla the teacher of Apollos.

He next reminds objectors that they enjoy their just rights and liberties, of which for many years they were deprived by Church Tyrants, rights which they have strenuously asserted and honourably maintained; yet they practically allow that evil in themselves which they justly condemned in others. Further, in every free community the minority are ruled by the majority. But in many Congregational and Baptist Churches this

order is reversed—where of the entire membership perhaps a hundred are women, and only fifty, forty, or thirty are men. It would be more reasonable if the majority were received on the understanding that "they are to come into the Church only as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the brethren"; or if "the brethren of the Churches had such a power over the sisters as parents have over their children; or did they pretend to such a right over them as the conqueror has over the conquered." But no such pretence is alleged. Finally, is not the claim of men to exercise authority over women in religious matters closely analogous to the claim of the Pope to exercise a like power over the laity?

He goes on to deal with sundry objections:

(1) To allow women to speak in or to the Church is to allow them to usurp authority, contrary to I. Tim. ii. 12. This is nothing to the point, unless it be usurpation for a servant maid to speak to her master.

(2) Women have not capacity or judgment to manage Church Affairs as they ought to be managed. This is not true: many women have more knowledge and capacity than some men.

(3) "If sisters should be admitted to intermeddle in the Government of a Church it would bring confusion, etc." As much may be said against the brethren's governing, for they also are subject to manifold weaknesses and infirmities in respect to judgment. Let them not then deprive others of their right "on any imaginary objection, without so much as to make a trial."

(4) What is demanded would bring us under petticoat government, which is contrary to the light and law of Nature. "This shows much pride, as well as want of due consideration of what is pleaded," which is "not that women should serve the men as the men do now serve the women," but that there should be an equality.

(5) The only other objection our author can think of is that in Rev. ii. 20 the Church is blamed for allowing "that woman Jezebel to teach and to seduce, etc." But her fault was falsely calling herself a prophetess, and teaching contrary to sound faith and good morals. He concluded with an earnest appeal to Christian women to strive, with all due earnestness and modesty, for the restoration of those rights which are now unjustly withheld; meanwhile to "make conscience of doing all you can in a more private way for your mutual edification"; and when those rights are restored, "beg of God that you may be made able, through His Grace, to carry it so that the brethren may be convinced that they have erred, and been mistaken in their judgments of your unfitness and inability to manage Church work; . . . and that they have for many years, been unfaithful to Christ and His Churches, in denying Him such servants, and His Church such helpers, that He hath appointed to be in His Church until the time of the Restoration of all things."

It is somewhat remarkable that our author makes no mention of Rom. xvi. 1 or Gal. iii. 28.

## Religious Liberty under the Regency

(*Continued from p.* 56.)

IV. The Act of 1812 seems to have put an end to the penalization of Nonconformists under the Conventicle Act; but the spirit that prompted such persecution was far from being exorcised. Lord Barham, of Barham Court, Kent, founded a Sunday School in the village where he resided, and was accustomed to attend the evening worship carried on therein. On his lordship's death the Honourable Charles Noel came to reside in the same mansion, and carried on the Sunday School; but the state of his health making it imprudent for him to go abroad on winter evenings, he removed the evening service to his own house. This was no case of Nonconformity; Mr. Noel was an adherent of the Established Church, and his action had the approval of the vicar and the curate of a neighbouring parish. But the service was open to the neighbours, who attended to the number of twenty or thirty; and the house was not certified and registered as a dissenter's meeting under the Toleration Act. Whereupon the Earl of Romney laid an information against Mr. Noel for knowingly permitting two unlawful assemblies "for religious worship of Protestants," on 31st December, 1815, and 7th January, 1816. The case was heard on 1st April, 1816 (surely the most fitting day in the calender); Mr. Noel admitted the facts, simply pleading ignorance of the law; Lord Romney "thought it necessary to observe that, as *complainant and informer*, he took the whole matter upon himself." The full penalty of £20 for each offence was imposed, which was immediately paid by Mr. Noel's steward; in reply to whom

the chairman answered that after payment of expenses half the remainder *went to the informer*, and half to the poor of the parish.

V. On Sunday, 7th April, 1816, Mr. Robert Newstead, a Methodist preacher, preached in a field at Doddington, Cambridgeshire. Among his hearers was a servant of Rev. Augustus Peyton, rector of Doddington; on whose evidence Mr. Peyton and another magistrate convicted Mr. Newstead of "collecting together a congregation or assembly of persons, and preaching to them otherwise than according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England, in a field which had not been licensed." The servant admitted that "he did not know what he preached, whether it were a prayer or a sermon . . . but he knew that it was contrary to the liturgy of the Church of England because he had not a prayer book in his hand!" Mr. Newstead appealed to Quarter Sessions, held at Wisbeach on 17th July following; the conviction was confirmed, and the preacher sentenced to a fine of £30 or three months' imprisonment. But a case was demanded for the Court of King's Bench; whereupon the prosecutors abandoned the prosecution, and engaged not to enforce the penalty.

VI. On Sunday, 17th June, 1821, Mr. Samuel Waller, a respectable manufacturer at Ashton-under-Line, and a member of the Primitive Methodist Society, committed the serious offence of preaching on the steps of a friend's house, opposite one of the widest streets in the town. The audience was vaguely estimated at "200 or 300"; the time, five in the afternoon; the place "within about twenty yards of the churchyard gate." For this crime he was, on 23rd July, convicted at the Salford Quarter Sessions of "a Misdemeanour and Nuisance," committed to prison for three months, and required to give security to keep the peace for two years. It was afterwards stated, on the authority of some persons then present, that "on

the same day the same punishment was inflicted for selling songs so grossly obscene that counsel for the prosecution thought it improper they should be read in Court."

Few will be disposed to say, in view of the above extracts, that "The former days were better than these."

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## In Memoriam

WE have to place on record, with deep regret, the death of our late esteemed Treasurer, Rev. Geo. Lyon Turner, M.A., which took place at Bramblecot, Hayling Island, on 13th August, in his 76th year. Professor Turner was a Cheshunt student, and took high honours in London University, gaining the gold medal in philosophy. After a short pastorate at Long Melford (1868–1870) he was called to a tutorship in Hackney College (1870–80), and thence to a similar post in Lancashire College (1881–89). He then resumed pastoral work at Lewisham, retiring from active service in 1903. His later years were devoted mainly to historical research; and students of Puritan History can never dispense with his monumental work, "Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence," in which the Official Documents, 1665–1672, are reproduced with the minutest accuracy, and carefully classified and annotated. Three of his children are engaged in missionary service: a daughter in India, a son in Central Africa, and another in China. To them, and to Mrs. Turner, we offer our heartiest sympathy.

## Review

VENTURERS FOR THE KINGDOM: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS. By Henry G. Wood, M.A. [Hodder and Stoughton, 8vo., xiv.: 254 pp.]

It was a happy inspiration, for which the *Mayflower* Tercentenary Celebration Committee deserves credit, to select Mr. Herbert Wood to write this small but authoritative work to meet the demands of the many who desire to know more of the great "Venturers for the Kingdom," who sailed away to the mysterious West in 1620, and whose venture has proved so powerful a factor in the history of a continent, and, indeed, in the history of Christian civilization. Many books on the topic already existed; good books, too, among them. But another book, *this* book, as we easily recognize on reading it, was wanted. The study of the great Fathers, who were so profoundly unsuspicious of their greatness, had to be levelled up to the progress of historic research. Our knowledge of the events has advanced proportionately as the country involved in this story realized its greatness. Moreover, a book was wanted which would homologize our fresh conceptions of the character of the men, and of their ideals, and their deeds. The stores of fresh knowledge which have rewarded the labours of many diligent researches, have refurnished our imagination, and given us, as they are ably handled in Mr. Wood's pages, a better understanding of the great enterprise and the chief actors in it. And there is another justification for the writing of Mr. Wood's book. We were grieved a little while since at Mr. Roland G. Usher's *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, seeing there was a spice of malice about a book which libels the memory of the Pilgrims, timed to

mislead the public mind in regard to the Tercentary Celebrations. Mr. Wood, with the patience and the competence of a fine scholar, has answered Mr. Usher's slanders. From the standpoint of the admirers of the Pilgrims there is nothing more to be said. Chapter and verse are given, and the jaundiced view of the ecclesiastical partisan is unpleasantly obvious. If anything further were needed, it is given in Dr. Rendel Harris's brief appendix on "The Legal Processes Against the Pilgrims." But we warn Mr. Wood—Dr. Rendel Harris is a veteran and needs no warning—that the American Episcopalians, who regard the pre-eminence of the Pilgrims with such unconcealed jealousy, and the High Church historians of this country, will repeat the old fables for generations to come. They will still say that these unsociable and bigoted Separatists were never really persecuted; on the contrary, when they were comfortably settled in New England, they burnt witches, and flogged Quakeresses, while a quorum of their elders stood around chanting the imprecatory psalms.

Mr. Wood's book will serve its purpose admirably in giving instruction to those who seek it. It will supply them with a complete and lucid historic narrative, and even more importantly, it will present them with a fine statement and defence of the democratic and tolerant principles which, if falling short of ideal perfection, were admirable and pre-eminent for their time, and held by the Pilgrims and their successors with such tenacity. If Mr. Wood's study has any defect it is perhaps in the modified praise which is all he can accord to the Pilgrims and their descendants for their small effort to evangelize the natives. We think they were more active in their missionary efforts than Mr. Wood would indicate; as he would perceive if he would be good enough to glance at the authorities given in the last section of the Bibliography printed in the present issue of our *Transactions*.

W. Pierce.

## The Fourth International Congregational Council

Boston, Mass., June 29th–July 6th, 1920.

OUR *Transactions* do not normally deal with current events; but an exception may be made in this case, especially as the Council had among its objects a celebration of the Tercentenary of 1620. Most of the English delegates voyaged by the *Adriatic*. Like the *Mayflower*, the ship sailed from Southampton; and as was written of the Scrooby Church in its migration to Holland, so it might be written of us, "they were obliged to bribe and fee the mariners and give extraordinary rates for their passage." There the outward resemblances end. No one was washed overboard, no one died on the voyage, no little Oceanus was born. We were only one Sunday at sea, and in the morning listened to the Purser reading Matins; but in the evening, led by Dr. Horton, we had a service more congenial to our Pilgrim spirit.

We found the country more thickly populated than our forefathers did in 1620, but somehow or other it was not till we reached Boston, and, indeed, the Congregational House there, that we got into sympathetic touch with our spiritual kinsmen. The time of year was not the best, many Boston citizens being out of town, and the place of Meeting left much to be desired. The Mechanics' Hall is suited for exhibitions, but not for speaking and hearing. It was, therefore, an agreeable experience to get through the opening proceedings with a fair measure of comfort and satisfaction.

Now the Chronicles of the Council are, or will be, written elsewhere, and I have only to touch on a few matters particularly relevant to our journey. The

action of the *Adriatic* Company in sending a Marconigram of congratulations to Dr. John Brown on his ninetieth birthday was warmly endorsed by the Council under the able moderatorship of Dr. James L. Barton. Here let me note with mingled feelings the splendid way in which for months past *The Boston Congregationalist* has supplied its readers with Pilgrim information, and evoked new interest in the men of Scrooby and the *Mayflower*. Alas for our own poverty in this respect.

Some of us were greatly interested in a visit to Marblehead and Salem, with their many survivals and memories of olden days; and the present writer, with Rev. Sidney Berry, had a most enjoyable experience as the guests of the Essex Congregational Club at Gloucester. But naturally the excursion *par excellence* was to Plymouth. Most of the British delegates were taken there and back in motor cars, and so were enabled to see at least the externals of rural life in New England. The day itself was superb; unhappily the organization of the proceedings left much to be desired; what should have been a pilgrimage became a picnic, and of the five chosen speakers only one or two seemed to have anything like a fitting conception of the time and place. Where we should have had dignity and a call to new consecration we had persiflage, platitudes, or irrelevances. Some of us were glad to steal away to the quiet peace of Burial Hill, and to find there in communion with the spirits of William Bradford and his Pilgrim Company that for which our hearts were athirst.

It is surprising that amid the myriad names of English towns and villages that have been transplanted to America there is no Scrooby or Austerfield. I hope that, through the efforts of our friend Dr. Dunning, who has much to do with the forthcoming celebrations at Plymouth, these honoured names may be perpetuated in some Avenue or Square in that City.

I feel I am trespassing on space, but I must say how well one of our members, Dr. Peel, acquitted himself in presenting the Report of the Commission on our Polity, both in masterly handling of the past and in sagacious counsel for the future. I must also mention two very helpful exhibitions; one, at the Boston Public Library (where there is a noble statue of Sir Harry Vane), included a valuable collection of original editions of early Pilgrim and Puritan literature, many ancient and modern pictures, crude maps, facsimiles of autograph letters and documents. The other, at the Museum of Fine Arts, comprised loans of furniture, silver-ware, pewter, prints, etc. There was also an interesting exhibit at the new Widener Library in Harvard College, but this I did not see. But I did not fail to have a look at William Bradford's priceless manuscript, "History of Plymouth Plantation," in the Massachusetts State House; and in the Congregational Library at Beacon Street they show with pride a piece of an oak beam from Scrooby Manor House, and a piece of a carved pew from Scrooby Parish Church. They also rejoice in the possession of Bishop Stubbs's Library, which they bought a day ahead of an offer from Harvards, and keep as a separate collection.

Some of us, venturing through a torrential rain, made our way to the new Andover Seminary at Harvard, and had a delightful time with Dean Plattner. The new buildings are very worthy, and the Chapel and Library especially won our admiration.

We are glad to think that the Council has done much to strengthen old ties, and even more in forming new ones between ourselves and our American kinsfolk. Many of us feel that ten years is too long an interval; and that 1928, the Tercentenary of Bunyan's birth, would be a most fitting occasion for the next International.

A. J. Grieve.

## A Puritan Publisher

### John Bellamy.

IT is generally understood that, with the exception of an Almanack, The Bay Psalm Book (1640) was the first English book printed in America. It is, therefore, not without interest to enquire by what agency was the earliest American literature introduced to English readers.

The answer is furnished by the title-page of "A Sermon preached at Plimouth in New England, December 9th, 1621. Together with a Preface shewing the state of the contrie, and condicon of the inhabitants. Printed by I. D. for John Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the two greyhounds in Corne-hill neere the Royal Exchange." The date of entry is 22nd March, 1621-2.

This John Bellamy was born at Oundle, Northants; was apprenticed to Nicholas Bourne, bookseller, "at the South Entrance of the Royal Exchange," and took up his freedom on 17th February, 1620. His name first appears on the Stationers' Register on 10th October in that year. He was a true-blue Presbyterian, and his earliest—indeed most numerous—publications were sermons, though he did not disdain poetry, philosophy, or general literature. "Virginia's God be thanked, or a sermon of thanksgiving for the happie successe of the affayres in Virginia this last yeare"; preached by P. Copeland before the Honble. Virginia Company in Bow Church, on Thursday, 18th April, 1622, was published by Bellamy in conjunction with Wm. Sheffard. But of greater interest is the fact that a "Relation or Journal of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England" was entered by Bellamy on 29th June, 1622. This was the pamphlet well known as "Mourt's Relation"; it seems to have been re-entered on the

15th July next following, by Mistress Griffin and John Haviland, printers, as "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England"; on sale by Bellamy, and also by Wm. Bladen.

On 14th November, 1623, we find entered "A True Relation of Things very remarkable." This seems to indicate "Good Newes from New England; or a true relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimouth in New England. Written by E. W. [*i.e.* Edward Winslow.] London, Printed by I. D., for Wm. Bladen and John Bellamie, and are to be sold at their shops, at the Bible in Pauls Church Yard, and at the three golden Lyons in Cornehill, neere the Royal Exchange, 1624."

John Robinson's "Observations Divine and Moral" was entered by Bellamy on 18th October, 1626; but no copy of that year's date is known. It is conjectured that Bellamy may have imported part of the Leyden edition of 1625, and prefixed a title-page of his own. He re-issued the book in 1628, calling it a 2nd edition.

The following, having special relation to the New England Colonists, were also published by Bellamy:—

"God's Promise to His Plantation," by John Cotton: 1634.

"The Humble Request of His Maiesties ǀLoyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company, late gone to New England," &c. Drawn up by John Winthorp, 1630. (This, of course, relates to the Bay Colony, not that of New Plymouth.)

"New England's Prospect. A true. lively, and experimentall description of that part of America, commonly called New England, &c." By Wm. Wood, 1634; 2nd Edn., 1635; 3rd Edn., 1639.

"A True relation of the late Battell fought in New England between the English and the Pequot Salvages, &c." By P. Vincent, 1637. This was published by Bellamy in association with Nathaniel Butler.

On the outbreak of the Civil War, Bellamy (who by

this time was Common Council-man for the Ward of Cornhill), took up arms for the Parliament and attained the rank of Colonel in the trained bands. When the rupture occurred between the Presbyterians and the Independents, he adhered strongly to the former. He it was who published the "Remonstrance and Petition" sent to the Parliament by a section of the Common Council, which demanded the suppression of private and separate congregations of Brownists and Anabaptists, and the immediate opening of negotiations for peace. This publication was followed by "A Vindication of the Humble Remonstrance," and "A Justification of the City Remonstrance and its Vindication."

In 1646 Bellamy published Winslow's "Hypocrisie Unmasked; By a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Masachusets against Samuel Gorton, &c.": and the following year a remainder of the same pamphlet was issued with a new title, viz., "The Danger of Tolerating Levellers in a Civil State," &c.

But "business is business"; and, however strong the antipathy of Bellamy to the Independents may have been, it did not extend to the legitimate gains that might accrue from the sale of their writings. At various times we find him acquiring the copyright of Amsworth's Psalms, and of his Annotations on the Pentateuch. In 1648 he published "A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline, by Thomas Hooker, late Pastor of the Church at Hartford upon Connecticut."

"The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared," by Rev. John Cotton of Boston.

"The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel," by Thomas Sheppard, of Cambridge, N.E.

Bellamy seems to have acquired considerable wealth, and to have retired from business some time before his death. This occurred at Cotterstock, a couple of miles from his birthplace, about the 20th January, 1653-4.

THE

# Congregational Historical Society

**(FOUNDED 1899.)**

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*President :* Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D.

*Chairman :* Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., Litt.D.,
Miltona, Riley Avenue, St. Anne's-on-Sea.

*Treasurer :* H. A. Muddiman, Esq.,
79, The Avenue, Higham's Park, London, E. 4.

*Editorial Secretary :* Rev. T. G. Crippen,
The Library, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C. 4.

*General Secretary :* Rev. Wm. Pierce,
33, Handsworth Avenue, E. 4.

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# Congregational Historical Society

# Transactions

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# EDITORIAL

OUR usual Autumnal Meeting was held at Southampton on 29th September, 1920, the School-room of Portland Street Baptist Church being kindly lent for the occasion. The attendance was exceptionally numerous, and visitors were well rewarded by the paper read by Rev. W. Camfield, M.A., which we have pleasure in reproducing in our present issue. We were then favoured with a familiar talk by W. Dale, Esq., F.S.A., on "Southampton and the *Mayflower*"; after which, under Mr. Dale's guidance, a tour was made to the most notable points of historic interest in the town, terminating at the birthplace of Dr. Isaac Watts, where the proceedings were concluded by a brief devotional service in the garden.

* * * *

"The Story of Old Halifax" is an admirable little book from the pen of Mr. T. W. Hanson, who is a prominent worker in connection with the Square Congregational Church in that town, and a member of our Society. He is a keen antiquarian, and has more than once contributed to our "Transactions." Local History is now finding a place in our educational system, and the local educational authority has sanctioned the use of Mr. Hanson's book in their schools. The book is well written, beautifully illustrated, and attractively got up; and we are glad to know that the author is doing such excellent work.

* * * *

The Annual Meeting of our Society will be held at the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, 11th May, 1921. It is earnestly desired that all our members should strive to increase the number of our subscribers; the more so as the arrangement by which members of the Baptist Historical Society were regarded as Associate Members has been discontinued.

**ASINUS ONUSTUS.** | The | *ASSE* | Overladen. | To | His Loving, and | Deare | Mistresse | *ELIZABETH* | the Blessed Queen | of | England.

This Booke was delivered to Queene | *Eliz:* being at *None Such*, Jul. 27th | *Anno* 1589. | *London* | Printed for *John Williams*, and are to be sold at his Shop, | at the *Crowne* in *Paul's* Church-yard, 1642.

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The above is the title of a pamphlet of vi. + 69 pp., in the British Museum, press-mark 873. g. 33. It is a remonstrance against sundry ecclesiastical abuses, from the point of view of a cleric who has a grievance, but is altogether hostile to every form of Puritanism or Separatism. He begins with an apologetic preface, from which the following are some extracts :—

"The Effect of the Book, and the Asses intent, to the Reader. The poore Asse to his Mistresse complains of three injuries; That he is Despised; That he is Overladen; That his Provender is taken from him. This Asse is the Ministerie and Clergie of England, compared to an Asse for strength, and for patience, and clemencie, etc. . . . For as the one, so is the other strong to beare burdens, patient to endure reproches; gentle, not seeking revenge, not envying others better fortune, but only desirous to relieve his owne. . . .

"This Asse speaketh but in the Name of poore Ministers of the Meaner sort, whereof this Asse is one of the Meanest. The great Masters of the Clergie feele

not yet this extreame misery. This Asse was bred on the backe side of the hill *Atlas* in *Affrica*. And being a Barbarian by nature, beare with his barbarous phrase, and uneloquent braying. The worst that you can say is but this: It was an Asse that did it. He confesseth it. So find him, So take him. Let your wisdome overreach an Asses capacity. A dull constitution breeds a dull conceit. If any list to gather captious and farre-reaching conceits, or constructions, their own fault it is, and their blame be it. Philosophy fits not an Asses braine."

The treatise is in three parts. The first remonstrates against the light esteem in which the clergy are held, the unwillingness of many to pay those charges which provide their legal maintenance, and the diversion of church property to private uses. "Martin Marprelate" is denounced as "a ringleader to the Raskall sort, to bring the Gospell of Christ, all Religion, and the Messengers thereof into utter contempt." The second part complains that "The Ministry is overladen of late with taxes"; and strongly denounces the abuse of ecclesiastical patronage. The third part affirms that "The Church is robbed by such as beg away her livings"; and cautiously alludes to abuses in appointments to bishoprics, etc. "The wise Admonitors," says the Ass, "would have Bishops' lands taken away, and given to preachers. But the Brownists, ungrateful Scholars to these Admonitors, would have all lands, and what livings else soever belong any way to any minister, to be taken cleane away: but they define not, who should have them, very earnest are they that Ministers and preachers should have none, secretly insinuating, belike, that they ought to bee divided amongst Noble Men, and Gentlemen. And as for the Ministers of what degree soever, these gentle Brownists will allow them to have no certainty at all, No, not to make any conditions for any thing, in any sort, but to

live *ex mera eleemosyna* of mere Alms: that is in plain English, their will is to set them all on begging." "They say they cannot find in the Scripture any certaine allowance for the Minister, nor yet Lord Bishops: Alas the while: these wise men, these diligent wise men, cannot find that which they never sought, and that which they will not find. What they find it availeth not. But I am assured that I find in the New Testament such Schism, Rebellion, and Division, and such manifest descriptions thereof, that lacking but only their names, the very natures of our Admonitors, Brownists, Precisians, Anabaptists, Familists, Mar-all Martinists, and such like Heretikes, are most lively deciphered." In the margin the Ass refers to II. Tim. iii. 1, II. Peter iii., I. Tim iv., Jud. viii.

He concludes with some doubtless very acceptable flattery to "his loving and deare Mistresse," to whom "the Lord hath given most singular gifts, above the capacity of women," and "hath so miraculously thus long preserved her for defending his Gospel"; in whose mercy "the hope of my life, the stay of my estate, and the only key of my comfort remaineth"; and for whom he prays "That the Church and Commonwealth in your days may flourish, as in the days of Solomon, and that the poor Ministery may no more complaine in our streets, of her Miserable Captivity."

## Myles Standish

IT is scarcely open to question that the movement which culminated in the ever-memorable voyage of the *Mayflower* had its origin in the quiet old-fashioned village of Scrooby, on the northern border of Nottinghamshire. From the little company of Separatists who met in the old Manor-house there came several of the pilgrims; while others were from the Midlands, from Essex and the Eastern counties, from London and the South, and from the West. So far as can be ascertained the expedition was purely English; that is, neither Scotland, Wales, nor Ireland was represented.

It has been alleged that the *Mayflower* pilgrims "leave no impression of personality on the mind"; that they were "not remarkable"; that not one of them "had compelling personal genius or marked talent for the work in hand." Another writer will have it that the persecution which drove them out of the country was all too small and trivial in scale to be worthy of the name; that it was a bit of local trouble for which neither Church nor State was responsible. Yet a third says that they were simple uneducated peasants, without any social position. I confess that I cannot understand statements of this kind. There is a type of writer who appears to be obsessed by the idea that his special duty is to belittle the great characters of history, and we seem to have an unusually large number of them at the present time. Indeed I think the one thing from which the world is suffering, our own country as much as any, is lack of reverence —reverence for the historic past, for great historic personalities, respect and reverence for a just authority that can both restrain and compel. Writers of the type just described are not to be taken as trustworthy

guides, seeing that John Robinson and William Brewster were graduates of Cambridge University; with Edward Winslow as a young gentleman from Droitwich, and Myles Standish as the representative of one of the great ruling families of Lancashire, it cannot truthfully be said that the pilgrims were simple and ignorant peasants. Again, if history has anything at all to say to us it is that the religious repressions of Mary, Elizabeth and James were of far too serious a character to be made light of as some seem inclined to do. Moreover, to say that those outgoing pilgrims were "not remarkable," that they "lacked compelling genius," is to use language not easily understood. Those are the people who make history, who indeed have made it, some of the greatest and most wonderful history. And we of Lancashire may well feel pride in the thought that our county was represented in that movement; that in the person of Myles Standish it contributed to the little company in the *Mayflower* one of its most useful and illustrious members.

There is a Myles Standish problem, one of the most interesting and difficult of all those relating to the pilgrims. The Standish country is that part of south-west Lancashire which lies about Wigan, Chorley and Ormskirk. Because it is one of the great colliery centres of England we are apt to think of it as a sort of "Black Country"; in reality, however, it is anything but that. It is richly wooded, abounds in ancient halls and parks, and is as charming a bit of country as will be found almost anywhere in England. The Standish family, though no longer represented in the district, had their abode there at least from the time of the Conquest, and were one of the ruling families of Lancashire. Their home was Standish Hall, near the village of the same name. It still exists, though shorn of much of its ancient glory. An important branch of the family had its centre at Duxbury; and Duxbury Hall, which time has also greatly modernized, was their home.

Other branches were at Ormskirk, Eccleston, and even the Isle of Man. The original stock at Standish Hall were devoted adherents of the Roman Catholic faith, to which they remained loyal: but at the time of the Reformation the Duxbury branch became Protestant, and it is to this branch that Myles Standish is said to have belonged. It is claimed that he was born at Duxbury Hall in 1584 or 1585. His will is dated 7th March, 1655; and in it he bequeaths to his son and heir, Alexander Standish, "All my lands as heir apparent by lawful descent in Ormskirk, Burscough, Wrightington, Mawdsley, Newburgh, Croxton and the Isle of Man, given to me as right heir by lawful descent, but surreptitiously detained from me, my grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish." Whether any effort to recover these lost lands was made by the son, Alexander Standish, does not appear; but in Alexander's will, which was proved on 10th August, 1702, the matter is referred to in the following terms—"Whatsoever estate either in New England or in Old, which I have committed into the hands of Robert Orchard to recover in England by letters of Attorney from under my hand and seal, my will is that my wife have her third part."

In 1846 an effort was made by descendants of Myles Standish to recover the lost estate, and a Mr. Bromley was sent over to England to look into the matter. An inspection was made of the Chorley Parish Registers for the purpose of copying the birth entry of Myles Standish; but the years 1584 and 1585 were found to be defective and the condition of the pages, it is said, suggested that several entries had been erased by the use of pumice-stone. It was my privilege a few months ago to see this register, and my hope was that the state of the page might give some indication whether pumice-stone had been used upon it, or the entries had been made to disappear in some other way. But I was disappointed to find that the top part of the pages had been torn off,

how long ago I do not know; but the result is that such evidence as the page might have given is gone for ever.

Thus far we have dealt with what may be called the traditional view of Myles Standish, to which Longfellow gives expression in the familiar lines:—

> "He was a gentleman born, and could trace his pedigree plainly
> Back to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall, in Lancashire, England,
> Who was the son of Ralph, and the grandson of Thurston de Standish,
> Heir unto vast estates, of which he was basely defrauded."

This traditional view, at least so far as it relates to Myles's connection with Duxbury Hall, has been accepted without question until quite recently; but a few months ago it was challenged in a book published by Rev. T. C. Porteus, vicar of Coppull, on "Myles Standish, his lost lands and Lancashire Connections." This writer maintains that the tradition is quite at fault; and that if Myles is related to any branch of the Standish family in Lancashire it must be the Ormskirk branch. No one can read the book without being greatly impressed with its value as a bit of earnest and serious research-work; but in reference to the main point in the problem, the relation of Myles Standish to Duxbury Hall, the matter is left unsettled. It is not difficult to detect a too great eagerness to upset the traditional view—a temptation to which the researcher is always exposed, while the arguments never advance beyond the stage of possibility, and probability. The parentage and birthplace of Myles Standish still remain a perfect riddle. Morton, writing only a few years after his death, says he was "born in Lancashire, heir unto a great estate, surreptitiously detained from him; his great-grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish." There is an irritating vagueness about all this, which so far has not

been removed. I have examined the registers of Eccleston, Croxton, Ormskirk, Standish, Chorley, and elsewhere in this district, and have not been able to find a single Myles in the Standish family of that or any other period. What research may do it is impossible to say; but I confess to some hankering after the traditional view. At any rate that view by no means stands discredited, and is as much entitled to respect as any other. Mr. Porteus's explanation of the defect in the Chorley Parish Register in the years 1584 and 1585 is not in the least satisfactory. The defect is there, and it is a very real one; and, coupled with the fact that no trace of the name can be found in any other register, there is some significance in the occurrence of the defect in the very register and at the very period where, if there were a disposition to destroy the birth entry, we might expect it to be. Then it is not without significance that, when Myles Standish removed to the other side of Plymouth harbour, the name of Duxbury was given to his new abode. An attempt has been made to evade the force of this by falling back on the etymology of the name; Dux-bury, it is said, is Duxburrow, "the town of the Leader." But this is mere trifling. It was the habit of those early colonists to transfer to their new homes the names that had become very sacred to them in the old country.

Bearing on this matter is a letter which I lately received from a friend who is keenly interested in the subject. "About thirty years ago (he says), I had a letter from some descendant of the Standishes in America, asking if there was any hill at Duxbury called Birchfield; because he said, there is a letter of Myles Standish which stated that the American Duxbury reminded him of the English Duxbury on account of a hill which he could see from his house. I replied that there was a hill, visible from Duxbury, called Birkacre, which is practically the same as Birchfield. It is the same name now, and goes back to early times." I have tried to

get in touch with the writer in America, but so far have not succeeded. If any such original letter of Myles Standish exists its evidence for the traditional view will be considerable. Enough has been said to show the difficult nature of the problem which still awaits solution; and that there is yet opportunity for the researcher who is in quest of an interesting bit of work.

Though in relation to the birth, parentage, and early life of Myles Standish, there is so much uncertainty, there are some things about him, and these perhaps really the most important, which are quite clear. We first meet with him in the city of Leyden. He was one of the soldier adventurers sent over by Queen Elizabeth to assist the Dutch in their struggle against Spain —then aiming at world-wide power. He held the commission of lieutenant; and it was at Leyden that he came into contact with the pilgrim band. He had their full confidence, attended their religious services, and was on terms of close friendship with John Robinson, the minister, who refers to him as a man whom he loved, sent among them he believed by the Lord for their good. How long he was with them in Leyden we have no means of knowing.

Why did he leave Holland and accompany them in the *Mayflower?* Usher, who claims to be an American historical scholar and of some repute, says that he was sent by the Merchant Adventurers as their salaried Servant; and Mr. Porteus inclines to this view. "They paid his stipend (it is said), that he might defend the emigrants and teach them to defend themselves." The evidence for this is not forthcoming, and Usher's book, in which the statement is made, is absolutely unreliable. A friend of mine, a distinguished historical expert, is of opinion that it is a mistake to speak of Myles Standish as the military leader of the pilgrims at this stage; and I am inclined to think that he is right. Doubtless his knowledge of military affairs would be of real service to them from the beginning;

but his appointment as Captain does not seem to have been definitely made until 17th February, 1621, some three months after the landing had been effected. In like manner an article in the *Manchester Guardian* a few months ago, by some writer entirely unknown to me, says :—" No pale-faced puritan this, but—one imagines—something of a swash-buckler, looking in the New World for Adventure rather than freedom to worship. He caused the brethren some perturbation, and seems not always to have been an easy man to get on with." Nothing could be further from the truth than this statement, which is typical of the whole article. It is long indeed since one read a contribution which so completely misrepresents the case with which it is concerned as that does. Myles Standish was as truly a pilgrim as any of the *Mayflower* adventurers. Their moral and religious ideals were his. He signed the " Compact " in the cabin of the *Mayflower* along with John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, and Isaac Allerton, being the sixth to do so. He attended their religious services in the new home as he did in the old. He watched all their interests with the care of one who was neither a mercenary, nor an adventurer, nor an outsider, in those terrible days when disease was sweeping away numbers of the little community. Bradford's testimony in relation to this matter is worth quoting :—" In the time of most distress there was but six or seven sound persons, who, to their great commendation be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of love, and hazard of their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, drest their meat, made their beds, washed their cloaks, cloathed and uncloathed them, in a word did all the homely and necessarie offices for them, and all this willingly and cheerfully, without any growling in the least, showing therein their true love unto their friends and brethren ; a rare example and worthy to be remembered. Two of these seven were named,

William Brewster the reverened Elder, and Myles Standish, the captain and military commander, unto whom myselfe and many others were much beholden in our low and sicke condition." It was also Standish's unceasing vigilance, courage, and skill that saved the colony from extinction at the hands of the Indians. He lived and died in their midst. His character is further attested by the books which he read; for a man is at least somewhat known by the literary company which he keeps. Some forty books of his are known, which he left at his death, from which it would appear that History, Travel, and Theology were among his favourites. In particular Cæsar's Commentaries seem to have had considerable fascination for him, while his theological books indicate a distinctly Puritan type of mind. With regard to his religious position Mr. Porteus says:—"On the whole we incline to the opinion that he was neither—Separatist nor Romanist, but, like the great majority of his fellow country people, an English Churchman content with the compromise represented by the Reformed Church." I doubt if such a claim can be maintained. Apart from all else—and there is much that might be advanced to the contrary—his library points in the opposite direction. There is a large preponderance of books of a distinct Puritan character, and of the type that is not conformist. In their new home the Indian peril was with them from the first, and in 1623, about three years after the settlement, a great plot was hatched by the Indians which, had it been successful, would have wiped out all the white settlers. Partly, however, through the help of one or two friendly Indians, whose confidence he had won, Standish discovered the plot; and he forestalled the enemy by striking the first blow and killing the ringleaders. It was this which brought from the old pastor in Holland, John Robinson, the letter in which he says, "It is necessary to bear in mind the disposition of your Captain, whom I love,

who is of a warm temper. I had hoped that the Lord had sent him among you for good, if you used him right. He is a man humble and meek among you and towards all in ordinary course. But I doubt whether there is not wanting that tenderness of the life of man, made after God's image, which is meet. O how happy a thing had it been that you had converted some before you had killed any." There is nothing here that really reflects on the character of Standish; on the contrary the testimony in his favour is distinctly high, and it is not in the least difficult to understand why the aged pastor in his quiet retreat in Holland should have written in this strain. But the stern realities of the situation made necessary what we may well believe would be somewhat repugnant to the feeling of all the Plymouth colonists; and the peace and security afterwards enjoyed go far to justify the Puritan Captain's action.

In 1625, Standish paid a brief visit to England to arrange some matters for the Colony. And about 1632, he removed to the other side of Plymouth harbour, and made his home at the place to which the name of Duxbury was given. He was repeatedly elected to be the Treasurer and Assistant Governor of the Colony. He died on 3rd October, 1655, at the age of seventy-two years, and was buried on what came to be called Captain's Hill, the exact spot being unknown.

Among the victims of the epidemic which during the first six months swept away half the colonists was Rose, the wife of Myles Standish, who sailed with him in the *Mayflower*. She died on 29th January, 1621. Reference has already been made to Longfellow's poem, in which he represents Standish as seeking to win Priscilla Mullens, and in trusting the business of love-making to his friend and comrade John Alden, not knowing that John and Priscilla were in love with each other. I confess that poem has never greatly impressed me. That Longfellow had a very real admiration for Standish

is beyond question; but in the poem he makes him appear exceedingly unreal, foolish, and painfully weak, forgetting his own maxim where if anywhere it should have been followed:—"Serve yourself if you would be well served." Nor is he any more successful with Priscilla, when he makes her say to John, pressing his friend's suit, "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?" I very much doubt whether any Puritan maiden could have been found so forgetful of modesty as to ask that question. The poem is said to be simply the embodiment of an old tradition. But there are certain facts which cast very serious suspicion upon the story. It has already been stated that Rose Standish died on 29th January, 1621; and Myles's second wife, Barbara, came over in the ship *Anne* in August, 1623. In the allotment of lands at that date she appears as Mrs. Standish. Within the space of a little over two years we must put the death of Rose, the period of mourning, the Priscilla episode, communication with Barbara in England, his courtship, her voyage and marriage. I suppose all this is possible, but there is a considerable element of doubt in it. Barbara (with whom tradition has been busy, making her sister or cousin to Rose, and claiming both as members of some branch of the Standish family) survived Myles a few years; the children, all by her, being Alexander, Myles, Josias, Charles, and Lora. On Captain's Hill, as near the place where Myles Standish lies as could be ascertained, there was erected in 1872 a monument with a granite shaft 110 feet high, crowned with a bronze figure of the captain—"the man of men whom the pilgrims most needed."

One could linger long with profit over the result of that *Mayflower* adventure of three centuries ago, but two or three sentences must suffice. A distinguished American writer says, "It has been well said that 'the three most famous ships in history are *Noah's Ark*, the *Argo*, and the *Mayflower*.' The last is the

most illustrious of them all; for she bore those who, hardly conscious of it themselves, carried within them the beginning of a great nation with ideas of loyalty to the truth revealed by God, of liberty in discovering it and of energy in putting it into practice, ideas which were to make it one of the most important factors in modern history." The fact which needs always to be remembered is that America is, above all else, British. There have poured into it immense streams of human life from almost every country in the world; there is a larger proportion of foreign elements in it than will be found in any other land; yet its English cast persists and outstands. It may at times have entertained a feeling of estrangement toward this country; but this is always for it the Mother-land. It has given to America its people, its language, its love of liberty, its passion for freedom, its civic ideals, its religion; and we may well take pride in the thought that this county of Lancashire furnished one of the most distinguished and notable members of that pilgrim band, out of which has grown that great Democracy across the sea which, uniting with ourselves in new bonds of affection and service, will make the future of the world radiant with fresh promise and hope.

B. Nightingale, M.A., D.Litt.

THE | ABOLISHING | OF THE BOOKE | OF | COMMON PRAYER, | By reason of above fifty grosse COR | RUPTIONS in it, | As also for that it commands the use of such cere | monies in the WORSHIP OF GOD (namely *Sur* | *plice, Crosse,* and *Kneeling,* which man hath devised, | and which are notoriously knowne to have beene | of old, and still to be abused to Superstition | and Idolatry, and are of no necessary use | in the CHURCH. |

Being the Substance of a Booke which the *Ministers* | of *Lincoln* Diocese delivered to King JAMES, the | First of *December*, 1605 |

*Well worthy of the serious consideration of the High* | COURT of PARLIAMENT. |

Reprinted, and are to be sold by SAMUEL — SATTERTHWAITE in *Warwicke.* | *Lane*, 1641.

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The above is the title of a Pamphlet in the British Museum. [Press-mark E 178 (2).] It is interesting as a very Comprehensive list of the matters which the Puritans of 1605 deemed objectionable; and it must be owned that not a few of them were things quite indifferent, had they not been unduly insisted on. We give in a condensed form the various points to which exception was taken.

1. Parts of the Canonical Scriptures are omitted in the course of public reading, as (*e.g.*), the Titles of the Psalms, and the name of the Lord many times; yet Apocryphal Lessons are appointed, as Susanna, part of which is certainly untrue.

2. Many ceremonies of human device are enjoined; as Romish usages associated with the Mass and other superstitions: especially The Surplice, Sign of the Cross, and kneeling at Communion.

The following are declared "contrary to the Word of God":

1. The whole matter and form of the Liturgy which too much resembles the Mass-Book.
2. The Service is so long as to leave little or no time for preaching.
3. It approves the ministry of men unable to preach.
4. It contains things tending to the maintenance of Romish superstitions, as:
   1. It constantly calls the Minister a Priest.
   2. Commands observance of sundry Holy days.
   3. Appoints Saints' Eves to be kept as fasting days.
   4. Perverts Scripture to find sanction for fasting in Lent.
   5. Has full prescript service only in the Week before Easter.
   6. Has three Special Collects for Good Friday, and for no other day in the year.
   7. Every parishioner is required to communicate at Easter.
   8. Prays "that God would give that which their prayers dare not presume to ask."
   9. The Catechism is ambiguous as to the number of Sacraments, of which "two only as generally necessary to Salvation."
   10. Private Baptism is allowed "as if Baptism were of absolute necessity."
   11. Private Communion of the sick is allowed.
   12. Interrogatories are ministered to infants before Baptism.
   13. Every baptized child is said to be Regenerate.
   14. None are to be admitted to Communion until confirmed, and that by a Bishop—wherein confirmation is dignified above Christ's Sacraments.
   15. Objectionable ceremonies in Marriage are specified.
   16. Priestly Absolution is to be granted to the sick, if desired.
   17. Burial is made a Ministerial Duty.

18. Needless Ceremonial is prescribed at "Churching" of Women.
19. Offertory and Offering Days are allowed.
20. In the Catechism it is affirmed that Christ has redeemed "all Mankind"—not only the Elect.
21. Sundry things tend to profanation of the Sacraments as :
    1. All priests and deacons in Collegiate churches are to communicate every Sunday.
    2. Discretion is allowed as to giving notice beforehand of intention to communicate.
    3. All New Married persons are to receive on the day of their marriage.
    4. Private Baptism is allowed without Prayer or Teaching.
    5. Several Statements are either untrue or doubtful as :
        (*a*) That nothing is ordained to be read but the Word of God, or what is grounded on the same.
        (*b*) That all the Ceremonies pertaine to Edification.
        (*c*) That the children murdered by Herod were Innocents.
        (*d*) That there are Archangels.
        (*e*) That every one who is buried is a brother.

Sundry things are appointed which bring disorder into the public Worship, as :

Repetitions after the Minister, and responsive prayers.

Directions are given about positions and attitudes in prayer.

Numerous vain repetitions are prescribed, as of the Lord's Prayer, the Gloria Patri, etc.

"Holy Scriptures are mangled into shreds and patches in the Epistles and Gospels."

The Churchwardens are to collect Alms in the midst of the service.

Several statements are denounced as absurd, others as contradictory ; and albeit the two books of Homilies are sanctioned as "agreeable to the Word of God," many things in them are indicated as doubtful or positively untrue.

Very severe censure is passed by the Authors upon the Ordinal ; this in particular :

"That the Lord's Supper is dignified above Baptism, and Confirmation above both, when the Deacon is permitted to baptize and not to administer the Lord's Supper, the Priest to minister both Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Bishops only to confirm."

Several absurdities, and contradictions between the spoken words of the Ordinal and the established practice, are pointed out; concluding with this:—

"The Priest is asked whether he will give his faithful diligence always to Minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded; whereas it is well known that no Minister is allowed to exercise the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded."

# Edward Winslow, 1595—1655

## 1. THE FAMILY.

THE road from Worcester to Leominster passes just north of a hamlet named Winslow, commemorating the great bishop, Wini, better known from his see-town of Winchester. In the middle ages, peasants who wandered from their birthplace were often known by its name, and so there were husbandmen at Suckley and Mathon called Winslow. By the fifteenth century they had drifted further, to Hanley Castle and Upton. By the sixteenth there was a large colony across the Severn, at Earl's Croome, eight miles below Worcester. All seem to have been agricultural labourers, though one who went up the Avon became a mason and one a barber.

One branch moved nearer the city to the parish of Kempsey, containing the hamlets of Draycot and Kerswell. Here Richard throve so that in 1543 he was important enough to be assessed towards a subsidy, and the same standing was retained by John of Draycot in 1550, 1571, 1576.

Kenelm took a better position still in 1559, buying from Sir John Newport the property of Newport's Place, in Kerswell. On 17th November, 1560, he had a son and heir, Edward, who seems to have been born in Worcester, the parish of St. Andrew. But it probably cost him his wife, for the will of Agnes Winslow was proved that year. Kenelm also owned the farm of Clerkenleap, half-way between Newport's Place and the city; so although he never described himself as more than a yeoman, he was well-to-do. He sold Newport's Place to Sir John Bucke, and retired to spend his latter years in the city, where he died in 1607 leaving a widow Katherine.

Edward apparently followed him at Clerkenleap, and is said to have married Eleanor Pelham, who is erroneously said to have been daughter of Sir Herbert Pelham of Droitwich, a person who did not exist there. Edward, however, did have a son and heir Richard, who after his father's second marriage, which will interest us presently, lived with his grandfather Kenelm in 1601. About 1605 he married a widow, Alice (Hay) Hurdman, whose father was of Kempsey, a gentleman entitled to coat-armour. He lived till 1659, and she survived him ten years, each leaving 40s. to the poor. Their son and heir was John, who in 1717 gave 20s. yearly to pay the master

of the free school at Kempsey, and died two years later. With him the name of Winslow died out in and around Kempsey, as he left only three daughters, who all married.

Edward, son of Kenelm and father of Richard, after the death of his wife Eleanor, married a second time, his bride being Magdalen Oliver. Who she was is rather a puzzle, for her Christian name has not yet been identified anywhere. In the neighbourhood many families bore the name of Oliver. Those at Evesham, Bromyard and Suckley were somewhat distant, but there were others at Hagley, Agbarrow, Chaddesley Corbett, besides relations at Upton. Most probable is the family in Droitwich itself; whereof Joan, William and Henry died in 1583, 1590, 1592. Harry bound himself to marry Anne Barrett in 1576, Anna bound herself to marry John Gerse in 1593. A Margery Oliver, widow, paid 4s. subsidy at Droitwich in 1603.

But against this local family is the absence of any name Magdalen in the St. Andrew's registers, and the remarkable fact that Magdalen was married in London, at St. Bride's off Fleet Street, where the original register may still be seen, given the date as 4th November. As those registers only begin seven years earlier, they throw no light on her family; but the place invites attention to London. It is conceivable that she came of Huguenot stock; Isaac Ollivier from Rouen was a famous miniature-painter till 1617; but the Huguenot registers do not record a Magdalen.

Whoever she was, Edward brought her to Droitwich, beneath which still flows an inexhaustible subterranean river of brine. Pumping this and evaporating it, had for centuries supplied many parts of England with salt; the Salt Ways radiate straight from the town of Worcester, to Alcester, and to the Roman capital of York. Five hundred loads of poles were needed each month to supply the 350 salt-furnaces with fuel, so that the forests had well-nigh disappeared, and the Malvern hills stand out bare. As Edward could hope only that his heir Richard would be provided for at Kempsey when Kenelm passed away, he was bound both to support himself and to provide for his second family; and for this, salt-boiling seemed a promising method. It needed to be so, for within eleven years he had eight children, though indeed one died young.

All the registrations referring to these are to be seen at St. Peter's. The nine entries have much interest, being unlike any other of that place and time. The first four originally ran, like any others :—

1595 Christened.

October 20. Edward Wynsloe sune of Edward Wynsloe was baptized.

1597 Christened.

April 15. John Wynsloe sonne of Edward Wynsloe was baptized.

1598.

April 24. Elynr wynsloe daughter of Edward Wynsloe was baptized.

1599.

Maye 3. Kenelme wynsloe sune of Edward wynsloe (was baptized).

So far the only remarkable point is that the daughter was called not after her mother, but after the former wife, Eleanor. The fifth entry is in a new form.

1600.

October 29. Gilbert Wynslowe sonne of Edward wynslowe baptized and borne the Sunday next before.

And it would seem to be about this time that the vicar was persuaded to add to his previous entries some similar information, even at the cost of erasing two words relating to Kenelme in order to make room. We thus learn that Edward was "borne ye xviiith of October being Saterday," that John was "borne on Saterday next before," 15th April; that Elynor was "borne on the Saterday next before," 24th April; that Kenelme "was baptized and borne on ye Sundaye next before," 3rd May. The vicar was also induced to take the highly improper step of inserting in his register of marriages in Droitwich during 1594, the statement that on "Nov. 3, Edward Wynlsowe and Magdalen married at London," a statement wrong by one day. The births of the next three children were all recorded in the same fashion, standing out conspicuously, different from all others:—

1601/2.

March, 8. Elizabeth Wynslowe daughter of Edward Wynslow baptized and borne ye Saterday before.

1604.

December 30. magdalen ye daughter of Edward wynslowe was baptized and borne uppon ye xxvi daye of ye same.

1605/6.

February, 16. Josias wynslowe ye sonne of Edward wynslowe was baptized and borne on the xv of the same being Tuesday.

But thirteen months earlier had been written :—

1604/5.

January 20. Elizabeth Wynslow daughter of Edward wynslowe was buryed.

In 1603 there was a new sovereign, and a subsidy was levied;

Winslow's holding was valued at only twenty shillings, and he had to pay only thirty-two pence, the lowest sum taken. But in 1606 he was important enough to be consulted as to the affairs of Hartlebury Grammar School. And next year he was put on a commission to investigate it. In each case it is worthy of note that while some of his colleagues were described as gentlemen, he was not. Even when, in 1607, his father Kenelm had passed away in Worcester, and Edward removed to his inheritance of Clerkenleap in Kempsey, he was at best only a yeoman, not bearing arms, nor even an esquire.

By 1608 Richard the eldest son was married, and as there were eight of the second family to provide for, it was getting nearly time for a lad of thirteen to consider his future. A chance allusion of later life suggests that he did not like the prospect of settling down as a salt-boiler, and so he broke away from all local ties, and sought another opening. As it was in London, it was perhaps due to his mother's family, but details are lacking for nine years ; the only sure fact is that he became a journeyman printer.

## 2. PRINTER AND SEPARATIST.

At London there was more variety of religious experience than at Droitwich. The diocese of Worcester has seldom been in the van. Catholicism died hardly, and half-way between Droitwich and Worcester, at Hindlip Hall, when Edward was ten years old, there was an explosion of Catholic disappointment, and attempted revenge. The Gunpowder Plot showed how violent were the forces of reaction.

Now London was the stronghold of the Puritan party. From the theological standpoint there were only two parties, Catholic and Puritan ; but there was a very practical division of opinion as to church government. Religion has never interested any but a small minority for any length of time, but every man is concerned as to the payments he has to make to support the ministers of religion, and every minister is concerned, not merely as to the type of service he has to conduct, but as to the people who enforce discipline upon him, and the opportunities offered him of joining the ranks of this governing body. Elizabeth had elected to continue the episcopal system, though at first she found few who really favoured it, and she had to govern even her bishops by High Commissions composed chiefly of laymen. Those who had imbibed the doctrines of Calvin, whether at Geneva or through the " Genevan Bible " which was in every religious home, soon came to favour his system of church-government as elaborated in his country of France, and adopted in Scotland. If Catholics were disappointed at the attitude of Mary Stuart's son when he became King of England, Puritans were equally disillusioned. After the Hampton Court Conference

had made it clear that bishops were to stay, and that very few concessions would be made to Puritan ideals, Separation began afresh. Some scores of people emigrated from the borders of Nottingham, Yorks and Lincoln to Amsterdam, where under John Smyth they formed the first modern Baptist church in 1609. A few of them united with the disciples of John Robinson from Norwich and formed another church which migrated to Leyden, where it was steadily augmented from East Anglia and Kent.

Now the difficulties of printing in England anything distasteful to authority were great. And as there was now a large colony of English in Leyden, anxious to find work, and some of them able to find capital, the idea was obvious that Puritan works might be printed there. Robinson had joined the university and obtained some credit by publicly supporting Calvinism in a debate against Episcopius, in which he was backed by Professor Polyander. William Brewster also was a member of the University, and as such had the right to print; Thomas Brewer had money. Therefore during 1616 type was bought, and two journeymen printers were brought from London, John Reynolds and Edward Winslow.

Among the motives that induced young Edward to go abroad, we may probably guess at one. Jean de l'Ecluse of Rouen had settled in Amsterdam, with his wife Catherine de l'Epine. He was a printer. In 1604 he married (2) Alice (Lewis) Thickins, a widow from Somerset. In 1609 he married (3) Jacqueline May of Wisbech. On 12th November, 1616, he married (4) Anne Harris of Hanbury, a hamlet two miles from Droitwich, who had other Worcestershire friends in Amsterdam. Now Jean de l'Ecluse was on good terms with the Leyden group, and Dorothy May, one of his sisters-in-law, was married to William Bradford, one of the Leyden leaders. Also Randall Thickens was a Londoner, now making looking-glasses at Leyden, whose wife's sister was married to John Robinson. Another member of the community was a Huguenot, Isaac Chilton, also making looking-glasses, who married a daughter of de l'Ecluse. Here then were people among whom Edward Winslow would readily feel at home, by whom perhaps his name had been suggested to Brewer and Brewster. So about the end of 1616, when he was just of age, he left for Leyden.

For three years he was busy setting up type, which was probably machined on a Dutch press. To a quarto Latin commentary on Proverbs by the late Thomas Cartwright, once a professor at Cambridge, Polyander furnished a preface, and so the new venture started auspiciously. It was very ingenious, but hardly ingenuous, for Cartwright had declared himself against Brownism, which was essentially the practice of this Leyden church. And another issue of 1617 was of the same kind, a short Latin pamphlet by William Ames against the Arminian minister of Rotterdam. Without any

imprint, there were re-issued at the same period Puritan programmes of reform first put forth under Elizabeth or at the accession of James. This was playing with fire. Brewster continued to hedge during 1618, setting up Cartwright's criticism of the Catholic New Testament executed at Rheims, in a fine folio, and a small exposition by Chaderton, Master of Emmanuel College at Cambridge: these, however, were balanced by a new Puritan objection to the liturgy, a reprint of a Brownist exposition, and a book by Robinson on the liberty of preaching.

The sky seemed clear, and on 27th April, 1618, Edward Winslow was betrothed to Elizabeth Barker from Chattisham; within a fortnight they were married.

The marriage records of the city illustrated what a cosmopolitan church this had become. The homes of 123 members have been traced; thirty-two were from Norfolk, seventeen from London, eleven from Essex, nine from Nottingham, six from South Yorks, five from East Yorks, five from Somerset, three from Cambridge, three from Suffolk, three from Sussex, three from Scotland, the others from Berks, Lincoln, Durham, Leicester, Hants, Wilts, Dorset.

It was a Scotchman who brought the match which fired the train. David Calderwood was prominent in upholding the Presbyterian system against James' attempt to convert it into an Episcopacy. He got Brewster to publish another edition of his Latin book on the point, and an English account of the proceedings of the Perth assembly. This excited King James, and his ambassador set to work to ferret out the printers. By September Brewer was in prison, his library was being examined, and the garret containing his type was sealed up by joint authority of town and university. Before this catastrophe, three smaller works had been issued, a Latin manifesto by Robinson, with English Puritan tracts.

By January, 1620, the States General issued an edict which forbade any such printing in future, while Polyander certified the ambassador that the type was all in the custody of the university. Thus Winslow's occupation was gone, and his reputation too, so that England was unsafe.

## 3. COLONIST AND AUTHOR.

Even in 1618, the church at Leyden had begun negotiating for leave to go to Virginia, whither in that year part of the sister church at Amsterdam did migrate. On 9th June, 1619, Brewster and Cushman secured from the Virginia Company a patent. But Brewster being now an impossible agent, negotiations fell into the hands of Samuel Fuller, from North Ockendon in Essex, a say-weaver with a knowledge of medicine, William Bradford the

fustian-weaver from Austerfield, Isaac Allerton, the tailor from London, and Edward Winslow, now twenty-five years old.

The books of Captain John Smith were bought, and his charts, including one of the New England coast, marking sites fit for towns. A pilot was engaged, John Clark, who had repeatedly been to Virginia. A small ship was chartered to sail from Holland; and by selling houses, money was raised to invest in stores.

Over in England even larger preparations were made. Many more decided to emigrate, and many financiers put a stake in the enterprise. A rickety old vessel, employed alternately in whaling and bringing from the Bay of Biscay bay-salt and wine, was chartered from Thomas Horth of Yarmouth, who had relations at Leyden.

The Leydeners agreed to send first their sturdiest, to prepare the way for more. The Winslows were of course in this contingent, and Gilbert Winslow, now aged twenty, joined at an English port. After repeated delays, some withdrew from the enterprise, the *Speedwell* was abandoned, and the *Mayflower* finally left on 6th September with 102 colonists, men, women, children, and hired servants. She was driven out of her course by severe storms, and reached not Virginia but Cape Cod in New England, behind which they anchored on 11th November.

Though they had the map of John Smith, recommending a site twenty-four miles westward for a town to be called Plymouth, and though the mate advised the same from previous knowledge, they explored for themselves, and let five precious weeks pass before they agreed on it, and by the end of the year they had simply staked out nineteen plots. By the end of January they had a few houses up, and their goods ashore under a shed. By the end of February they were in touch with the natives, and had landed their guns. By the end of March, Winslow had negotiated a treaty with Massasoyt, the sagamore of the natives. Five days later the *Mayflower* set sail eastward.

Meantime there had been an epidemic which, even in an unusually mild winter, had wrought grievous havoc both on the ship among the crew and on the shore among the colonists. There had been two dozen households, of which four were utterly destroyed. Winslow's case is a good average. His wife died, also one of his two men-servants, and a little girl put in their care; leaving only himself and a man-servant. Another average case was where William White died, leaving a widow Susanna, sister of Samuel Fuller from Essex, with her boy Resolved and a baby born aboard the ship in the harbour; both their men-servants died too. This suggested an easy remedy, and in May the households united, Edward being married to Susanna by William Bradford the new governor. Only three other wives survived, with seven marriageable girls, as

against twenty-six other men, five men-servants, one maidservant; five boys and two girls made up the total of fifty-one.

On this handful devolved the task of preparing homes and food for next autumn's ship. They had planted twenty acres with Indian corn, and built seven substantial houses besides four store houses. In November reinforcements of thirty-five young men and others arrived, including John Winslow. The little ship returned next month with timber and furs valued at £500; it also took letters for publication, with a sermon by one of themselves. The ship was plundered by a French privateer, but the papers were thrown into shape and printed. This step was apparently due to Winslow, from whose pen came most of the information; and by the later testimony of Bradford, he might justly have said, *Quorum pars magna fui*. The advertisement did the colony good, though like most advertisements it laid on the colours thick, and ignored the shadows. Next year arrived the third great contingent for Plymouth, completing the Forefathers or Old Comers, as they came to be affectionately called; and the return ships took home Winslow with a long manuscript which he published in 1624 as "Good News from New England."

It is not possible to trace the homes of all these pioneers, but the towns whence thirty-three families came can be identified. Duxbury in Lancashire provided one, York two, Scrooby and Austerfield two, Norwich two, Suffolk two, Cambridge one, Rayleigh, Colchester, Chelmsford and Ockendon one each, London six, Sandwich and Canterbury three, Dorking one, Budleigh one, Sherborne one, Barnstable one, Wrington one, Droitwich one, Shipton in Salop one, while three Netherlanders leavened the English. Of the English whom we can trace, only forty men, women and children, had ever seen Leyden or John Robinson. Elaborate lists in Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims" cover fifty pages, and deserve close study on these points; a few more facts have been discovered since.

Bradford and Brewster stayed at Plymouth the rest of their lives, and did their best to keep all the colonists there. But Winslow was a great explorer, and very soon expressed his opinion that they ought to have settled on Massachusetts Bay. This was acted upon by other settlers within four years, and he was justified by their far greater success.

His visit home in 1623-4 was largely to negotiate with the Adventurers, in which he was only partially successful. He brought over supplies of many kinds, and cattle; but the Adventurers hampered him by their choice of exports both material and personal. He pointed out that as there were great fisheries along the coast, it would be well if the colonists had a shipwright to build vessels that could share in this, and had a salter who could provide salt to sell to other ships. Yet whereas he had grown up in the salt district,

he allowed an incompetent man to be foisted on him, who burned down the house and ruined the works. And the shipwright seems to have been not very energetic, for after four years the total fleet consisted of " the pinnace, bass-boat, and shallop at Manomet."

Winslow was hardly more successful in his ecclesiastical negotiations. The Adventurers flatly refused to send Robinson over, and did send instead a clergyman from Ireland. But the Colonists would not accept him as their pastor, and when he was found to be intriguing for the subversion of their colony, they shipped him back, and Winslow proved to the Adventurers his general bad character. As Robinson had died meanwhile, the result was that they had no minister till Ralph Smith arrived in Massachusetts during 1629.

Winslow, however, was abundantly successful as an emigration agent. His sister Magdalen had married William Ware, clergyman at Wareham near Dorchester ; with 1623, a company of merchants from this district sent an annual fleet to the trading post at Kennebec, in charge of his brother. They even settled men, first at Cape Ann, then at Naumkeak. In 1628, several knights and gentlemen about Dorchester bought from the Council of New England that part of New England lying north of the Old Colony as far as the Merrimac, inluding the two experimental settlements. The first reinforcement reached Naumkeak in September, when Winslow soon visited them, and Fuller was able to check a sickness that had broken out. The reports sent back were so encouraging that the enterprise enlarged vastly, more partners came in, a royal charter was obtained, and five ships came over in 1629, including a new *Mayflower* replacing the former. This little fleet brought not only colonists for the new towns to be planted where Winslow had recommended, on Massachusetts Bay, but also the last of the Leyden emigrants for Plymouth.

As the new company was not settling in the Old Colony, but was settling in between this and its outposts at Kennebec, it was clearly desirable to obtain some English title to the occupied territory. Application was made to the " Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon " in old England, which readily granted a patent for the territory from the Cohasset rivulet on the north to the Narraganset river on the south and the Pacanokit or Sawamset country on the west ; also a strip fifteen miles wide on either side of the Kennebec. But no royal charter was ever obtained.

The successful settlement at Salem, as Naumkeak was re-named, and then at Charlestown and Boston, broke down the policy of centering all the resources of the Old Colony at Plymouth. Myles Standish had a farm about nine miles northward, which he named after his father's village of Duxbury. Edward Winslow had another three miles further, which he in turn called after his father's home of Kerswell. Apparently the father died about this time,

though the parish registers are not extant to give the exact date, and no will is in the natural place, the Worcester registry. As the farm devolved on the half-brother Richard, Edward's full brothers Josiah and Kenelm emigrated in 1631.

It was in these circumstances that new churches were incorporated in 1632, at both Duxbury and Kerswell. And speedily a fourth was added by the settlement of a church from London under its pastor John Lathrop, at Scituate, yet further to the north. The establishment of these new churches, as we shall see, led to the incorporation of new townships by Edward Winslow. The estate of Kerswell was developed soon. Edward took up more land in 1636, and whereas the natural river communication was with the sheltered waters of Duxbury Bay, he cut a canal a mile and a half long, giving direct access to the ocean at Green's Harbour. When a township was laid off in 1641, including the estate of Kerswell, it was named Rexhame for a short time, then Marshfield.

## 4. GOVERNOR AND COMMISSIONER.

Edward Winslow was a good man of business, and was constantly chosen to office. Thrice he was made Governor, and when four colonies confederated, he was one of the two commissioners from the Old Colony. While commercially he won some success, this is ecclesiastically the turning period of his life, as we see the tolerant policy of John Robinson reversed under the influence of Massachusetts, and a stain fixed on the character not of a man alone, but of the state he ruled, though it never wholly lost the savour of its early days.

In 1631 there arrived at Boston a young minister, named Roger Williams, who in April was installed over the church at Salem, and in May qualified as a freeman of Massachusetts. But the prevailing temper of the new colonists was such that opposition was made at Boston to his being minister at Salem, and he preferred to come to Plymouth. Here he was welcomed, was invited to preach, was admitted a member of the church, and presently was appointed assistant preacher or "Teacher" under Ralph Smith. For two years all went well; Smith was nearly a nonentity, and Bradford saw well how Williams had the very spirit of Robinson, their late pastor. Brewster the elder was less satisfied, and detected the spirit of John Smyth. He feared that Williams would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, and advised that he be got rid of so that abler men on the Bay might deal with him. Some intrigues took place, a law was passed that a man who had served as governor two years might be exempt, that any one else elected must serve under heavy penalties, and then Winslow was appointed in 1633. The situation became very strained, and as the

church at Salem still desired Williams, he asked for his dismission. Brewster urged it, and he with many adherents left Plymouth, returning to the premier church on the Bay. This move is plainly attributed in the Massachusetts History to Winslow being of one accord with the Massachusetts authorities against a full toleration in religious matters.

He had a keen eye, however, to what some would consider the main chance. In his year of office he opened a new trading post on the Connecticut river, and so negotiated with Massachusetts that the outposts on the Kennebec to the north was acknowledged as being within the Old Colony jurisdiction. And it is to his credit that he introduced more system into the government. Hitherto there were no official documents, beyond two town plans and a record of the division of the cattle; for minutes, Bradford had simply kept a private note-book. It was Winslow who, in 1633, instituted a Journal of Proceedings, and thus began the official records of the colony.

Beyond seas Charles and Laud were taking steps that might have recalled Winslow not only to a sense of the precarious status of the colonies, but to the noble principles he was loosing. Englishmen were now settled not only in Virginia and in Maryland, but in the Bermudas and on Providence Island off the Mosquito coast, besides around Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. In the general reorganization of government undertaken under the inspiration of Wentworth and Laud, a commission was issued to six peers, one knight, two archbishops and two secretaries, to supervise all colonies, present and future. Express power was given to the commissioners, with the advice of two or three bishops, to regulate ecclesiastical matters and establish ecclesiastical courts.

When news of this reached the Bay, the General Assembly devised a new oath, which evaded all reference to the laws of England, and vowed allegiance only to the local commonweal. This was at first intended only for freemen, but in 1635 was imposed on every resident male aged sixteen and upwards, under penalty of punishment at the discretion of the court. And at the same time the churches were asked to consult as to a uniform order or discipline, and as to the power of the magistrate to enforce such. Williams preached against both these proposals, was tried by the court and condemned to be banished. As they prepared to ship him back to England, he fled in January, and after fourteen weeks steered into Narragansett Bay. It is at first sight remarkable that he had not simply gone twenty miles to Scituate, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, where he would have found a church lately arrived from London, with its pastor, John Lathrop, much akin to him in thought. It is to be feared that Winslow was the obstacle, as will appear from his doings meanwhile.

Massachusetts had not been content with local measures, but had sent Winslow home as agent to try and uphold their charter against the new powers conferred on the Commission. Laud elicited that he had taught publicly in the church, and had celebrated marriages as a magistrate. For these breaches of English law he was committed to the Fleet prison. Winslow was fortunate in having one friend at court, the lord keeper. Thomas Coventry, was son of Margaret Jeffreys of Earls Croome, the village whence the Winslows sprangs. He had been M.P. for Droitwich, where a memorial of his son remains yet in the Coventry Hospital founded and endowed for poor old people. As Coventry was lenient by nature, and influential with Laud at the moment, he supported Winslow's petition to the Privy Council in November, and secured his release.

Winslow had learned little as to toleration. On his return to the Old Colony, he was chosen governor for 1636. He soon heard that Roger Williams had ascended Narragansett Bay, and had landed at Seekonk within his jurisdiction. He thereupon sent and asked him to cross the river and so save any trouble with Massachusetts. Williams did so, and Winslow in relief called on him, and gave his wife a piece of gold.

Massachusetts was disturbed by the party desiring uniformity. In 1636 the party of liberty carried the elections and put in Henry Vane. Intolerance, however, was so strong that several emigrations took place, and new towns were founded west of Williams' settlement of Providence, named Hartford, Windsor, and Weathersfield. It is significant that these emigrants from the Bay did not attempt to settle within the Old Colony ; Winslow's subservience had been too discouraging. Then came a natural result ; the narrow party was left strong enough to carry next elections on the Bay, whereupon Vane returned to England to spend his energy on a wider field, and the victorious bigots consolidated their position by banishing all the other leaders. These considered two sites, one in the Old Colony, and the island of Aquidneck. They went to Plymouth to negotiate, and for the second time the authorities urged them to move on further. So they appealed to Williams, who arranged with the Indian owners for their peaceable acquisition of the island, which they re-named Rhode Island. The pace was forced by Samuel Gorton, who, when he left Boston, came to Plymouth and began publishing his opinions ; they proved quite as unpopular in the Old Colony so that Smith the minister complained of him to the court, which in December, 1638, fined him and banished him.

W. T. WHITLEY, LL.D.

*(To be continued.)*

## State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection.

(*Continued from Vol. VIII; p.* 37.)

(*XIII*) *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having made his highness the Prince of Orange the Glorious Instrument of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power: to be used in the City of London and ten miles distant thereof on the* 31*st of January instant, and throughout the whole kingdom on the* 14*th of February next*, 1688/9.

*Proper Psalms*—46, 115, 124.

*Proper Lessons*—Zech. 8c. and Romans 12.

*First Collect*—O God, the Defender and Saviour of all that trust in thee; we give glory to thy holy name for the blessed Reformation of this Church, in the days of our forefathers, from the detestable Superstitions and Corruptions of Popery, and for our deliverance from the intolerable yoke of the Romish church. We praise thee for that light of the Gospel, that purity of doctrine and worship, thou hast ever since vouchsafed unto us; and for the many wonderful preservations by which thou hast manifested thy fatherly care of us, and presence with us. More especially at this time we magnifie thy goodness for our late great and happy deliverance, whereby we trust thou hast established to us all thy former mercies. Give us grace, O Lord, to walk worthy of this thy marvellous loving kindness; that thou mayest still delight to dwell among us, and to do us good; that the same temporal and spiritual blessings we now enjoy may, by thy mighty protection, be continued to us and our posterity for ever, and this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake. Amen.

*After the General Thanksgiving*—O Almighty and everliving God, who art glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders; we most humbly present ourselves this day at the throne of thy Grace, to bless and adore the unspeakable wisdom and goodness of thy late gracious providence towards us. We acknowledge it was thy infinite mercy alone that hath raised this church and nation from their low estate, and caused light to spring out of darkness unto us. It was because thy compassions fail not that our holy Reformed Religion was not overwhelmed with Popish Superstition and Idolatry, that our laws and liberties are rescued from the hands of violence and oppression. We confess, our sins had justly provoked thee to pour down these fearful judgments upon us. This was the portion due to our unthankfulness and manifold backslidings. Yet thou hast not dealt with us according to our deservings, but in the midst of judgment hast remembered mercy. Blessed be thy name who hast raised up for us a mighty Deliverer, by whom thou hast wrought this great salvation without the effusion of Blood. It is thy doing, O Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Wherefore not unto us, not unto us but to thy name be the glory, for thy loving mercy and for thy truth's sake, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*After the Prayer "for the Church Militant" :—*

O Eternal God, the blessed and only Potentate, the Prince of Peace; accept, we beseech thee, the praises and thanksgiving of thy servants for our deliverance from those great and apparent dangers wherewith we were encompassed. It is of thy mercy, O Lord, that we were not utterly consumed, that our religion was not destroyed, nor our liberty subverted; but that we still freely profess thy sacred truth, and joyn thy most holy worship, and possess the rights and inheritances of our fathers. Go on to perfect, O gracious God, the work that thou hast begun among us, Bless and prosper

the hands by which thou hast conveyed this mercy to us. Direct our Governors with the Spirit of Wisdom and Righteousness, Rule thou in the midst of our Public Councils, for the advancement of thy glory and the lasting welfare of this great people. Dispose the hearts of the whole nation to all lowliness and meekness and forbearance of one another in love; that no seditions may disturb the State, no schism distract the Church; but that as members of one body, professors of one faith, sons of one Father, and called to one hope, we may earnestly endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and with one heart and one mouth glorifie God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: to whom be ascribed all honour and praise now and for ever. Amen.

[It is worthy of note that this service was compiled by a committee of eleven bishops, appointed by the Convention on the first day of its assembling, and before the question of the Throne was settled. The committee consisted of Barlow, bp. of Lincoln, Compton of London, Frampton * of Gloucester, Ken* of Bath and Wells, Lake of Chichester, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Lloyd* of Norwich, Spratt of Rochester, Turner* of Ely, Trelawney of Bristol, and White* of Peterborough.]

*Five of these were afterwards Nonjurors.

## Religious Life in the Seventeenth Century as Illustrated by the Southampton Documents.

THE most outstanding feature of the seventeenth century is, beyond question, its dominantly religious character. Especially is this true of the earlier portion of the Stuart regime. Constitutional questions, and questions which arose from commercial enterprise occupied men's attention greatly at that time; but it was religion which most profoundly moved them and urged them on to the most arduous enterprises. Religious zeal sent some of England's noblest sons away from their ancestral homes across the great ocean, into the "land of fevers and scalping-knives." It was religious zeal which kindled the flames of civil war; for although constitutional questions entered largely into the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament, yet that struggle would hardly have developed into such a war as ravaged the land had it not been for the influence of religious ideals and fanaticisms. And yet the common people do not appear to have been greatly or universally affected by this wave of religious activity. They were certainly—speaking very generally—not Puritans. The generality of men and women were too ignorant to enter into a comprehension of deep religious problems, and too much obsessed with the present to care deeply for a system which so largely disregarded the passing and temporary.

(*a*) *Hatred of Popery.*—Among the sentiments which had relation to religion was one which appears to have been shared by nearly all; and that was, a deep and almost universal hatred towards the Roman Catholic faith, and towards all who professed that faith. During

almost the whole of the century men had an undefined dread of a gigantic Popish plot. The great idea which possessed the minds of Pym and his allies during the early years of the long Parliament was that there was in existence a far-reaching scheme to subvert the Protestant religion. Historians have charged Pym with designedly making a bogey of this idea in order further to widen the breach between the King and the Parliament; but Professor Gardiner dismisses the notion and shows how natural such fears as these were. Charles's relations with Papal emissaries, the many conversions to the Roman Catholic Faith which took place, the indiscretions of the Roman Catholic Queen, the readiness to accept help from any quarter which characterised the king; all these deepened men's suspicions —and made them put the most sinister explanations on his actions. Later on in the reign of Charles II. men regarded with grave suspicion—and, as it finally transpired, with the very best of reasons—the king's fidelity to Protestantism; and their pent-up hate and foreboding broke out in savage frenzy in the notorious Popish plot of 1678. His brother James made open and wanton attack on the religion of the great majority of Englishmen, and worked them up to a perfect fever of panic and wrath by his ill-judged project of bringing over Irishmen to hold his subjects in check. These things will account for—if they do not excuse—the intense dislike felt by the majority of people against Roman Catholics. Several extracts from the Southampton documents will show how this sentiment influenced men's minds. Southampton during the seventeenth century was the chief place for fishing expeditions to Newfoundland. In 1621 Sir G. Calvert (created Lord Baltimore by James I.) attempted to colonise the island, but was obliged to abandon the attempt. Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic, and this fact is in itself sufficient to explain the reason of his non-success. The fishermen who pursued their avocation round the

shores of Newfoundland were violently anti-papistical and not in the least likely to endure with equanimity the rule of a Roman Catholic Lord. A story taken from the town records is of interest in this connection. Stephen Day on September 14th, 1629, before the Southampton magistrates deposed that "on the 20th of April last past this relator set forth from Studland Bay in a fishing voyage to the Newfoundland in a shipp called the St. Claude this relator being master thereof, and he saith they carried outwards provisions to the Lord Baltimore at the Newfoundland aforesaid." At Newfoundland he came into contact with a gentleman belonging to Lord Baltimore's acquaintance named Mr. Gascoyne, who, wishing to embark for England, sent his clothes, as Stephen Day believed, on board a vessel named the "Sith" of Poole. Poole was for long the rival of Southampton in the fishing trade, and in the middle of the eighteenth century succeeded in making itself the principal starting place for expeditions to Newfoundland. Stephen Day was mortified that Mr. Gascoyne did not elect the St. Claude for his journey. "This relator said unto him that he this relator had heard that the said Mr. Gascoyne had sent his clothes abord thother ship called the Sith of Poole, to which the said Mr. Gascoyne replyed and said that they were none of his clothes which were sent aboard the Sith aforesaid, but that they were one Smithe's clothes, which Smith this relator saith is a seminary priest and hath exercised that office as this relator hath heard."

William Huntresse, boatswain of the same ship, "saith that there came one Gascoyne in the said voyage, from the Newfoundland in the said shipp, and that he heard the Mr. of the said shipp report that one Smith came in another shipp called the Sith of Poole, which Smith named himself Gascoyne—And he further saith that he know the said Smith to bee a popish priest for that hee saw him bury a dead corps with burning tapers." So evidently Stephen Day got his passenger after all.

A certain Mr. Walker is implicated in this story. He went out as a passenger in the St. Claude, and on reaching Newfoundland paid daily visits to Lord Baltimore, returning to the vessel every evening. "The report was commonly given forth that the said Mr. Walker was heretofore a Minister of the Church of England and that he was now become a Popish priest.—In the voyage outwards while the companie of the said shipp were at prayers the said Mr. Walker did whoope and make a noyse to the greate disturbance of the said companie of the said shipp." Mr. Walker, put on examination, gave an interesting account of his life, wherein he stated that he was an Anglican clergyman, and denied the charge of popery in the most emphatic terms: "he saith that hee is noe priest neither secular, nor regular, nor Jesuite, nor semynarie nor of anie other order or degree whatsoever by any authoritye derived or pretended to be derived from the Pope or from the Church or See of Rome." Further he gave some interesting information about Mr. Smith; "he saith that hee knoweth one Smith that came lately from the Newfoundland who was a secular priest, but of what order he was he this examinate knoweth not——. And he further saith that the said Smith that came from the Newfoundland was out of the new prison in London about two years since released by Monnsieur Bassompeire."*

Two or three more instances may be summarised which will throw light on the way in which the common people regarded the Roman Catholics. In 1642 Robert Coop was heard to say that he "wished the papists would rise for hee would be the first that would helpe cutt their throates." James Warton was of opinion "that the book of common prayer was most

* Francis Maréchal de Barsompierre, extraordinary ambassador, October, 1626—December 2nd, 1626. Cf. "Diplomatic Relations of England and France," by Firth and Lomas, p. 33.

parte of it Poperie and—he would maintaine it." A certain John Wheat came to the magistrates with a story about some Roman Catholics whom he had met, in particular Mr. Breed and Mr. Musgrave. "In discourse upon the way between this Informant and the said Breed hee this Informant heard him say that hee had preached a hundred and a hundred tymes. And said that it was not a fitt thinge that every man should know what hee was. And further upon the way hee this Informant heard one Mr. Musgrave and the saide Breade (a greate p^te^ of the way) discourse in lattine together. And rideing ov. Alseford downe the said Bread mett with a Papist and tould him that some papists in Yorke from whence this Bread came did desire to remember theire loves to the said papists Master and Mistresse."

(*b*) *Sabbatarianism.*—A notable feature about seventeenth century religious life was the growth of Sabbatarian sentiment. Whereas Sunday was previously regarded as a festival day of the church, the spirit of Puritanism tended to make it approximate to the old Jewish sabbath. James I. and Charles I. both attempted to arrest this tendency. In the year 1617 James I. issued a "book of sports," inviting his subjects after service to indulge in out-door games. The outcry raised, however, was so great that he prudently withdrew his declaration. Charles I. in 1633 republished his father's book, heedless of the angry protests of the Puritan section of Religious England. The book was publicly burned in 1643, and all games on the Lord's day were strictly forbidden. In the year 1608 order was given to and accepted by the barbers of Southampton "that none of them shall hereafter tryme anie person or persons uppon the Sabothe daye unlesse it be such gentlemen stranger as shall at such dayes be in the Town or resort to the Town and desierous to be trymmed by them. And this they and ev^ie^ of them are duelye to performe and keep without breakinge the same upon

paine of forfeiture of VIs VIIId the piece." In the year 1612 a barber named John Steptoe was complained of by other barbers of the town because "he hath and doth usually tryme p.sons upon the Sabbath day, and therefore he hath forfeyted VIs VIIId—he hath now paid the said forfeyte of VIs VIIId." The authorities were not hard hearted and gave him back 3/4 of his fine. Several other extracts will illustrate the growing Sabbatarian feeling. In 1609 it was resolved that the watch at Trinity fair should not be set on Trinity Sunday "in that it is the Saboath daye and therefore not to be prophaned." In the same year John Jourdain "for sufferinge XII p.sons inhabitants of this Towne to continew a drinckinge inordinatlye in his house upon Sondaye last in the afternoone at sermon time contrarie to the Statut is ordered to pay XXShillings and not to be pardoned." The next year a man named Thomas Northye was ordered to pay five shillings as a fine for permitting two men to remain in his house drinking on the Sabbath day. In the year 1613 three men, "Isaak Tudd, Ezeckiell Allies and Nichollas Harvye," were presented by the beadle "for there common drunckenes and espetially uppon the Sabboah dayes at Shovellbord in Widdow backley's house." For their misdemeanours they "were ordered to be committed to the stocks and weere presently comitted."

A man named George Linton was in 1633 committed to the Bargate "for hedging on the Sabboth day." The beadles of the ward of St. Michael's and St. John's, in the year 1638, reported Thomas Long, an Alehouse keeper, for permitting "greate disorder and revelling —on a Sabbath day at night to the dishonor of God and the disturbance of the neighbours." It was resolved "That the said Long shalbee from henceforth utterly suppressed and disabled from keeping an Alehouse within this Towne. And—there shal bee IIIs IIIId a piece leavied on those persons that were drinking there at the time aforesaid." In the year 1641 it was ordered

that all the town gates except Bargate and the Water gates should be closed on Sundays. These instances illustrate the growth of a spirit in favour of strict Sunday observance which reached its culmination in the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and which has never really disappeared from our English life.

(*c*) *Lectures*.—Another striking feature of seventeenth century religious life was the increasing love of the people for preaching. Laud provoked extreme hostility by his efforts to crush the power of the pulpit, and to substitute an imposing ceremonial which might appeal to the senses, for the sermon which arrested the mind. In addition to the ordinary parochial clergymen there were a great many preachers or lecturers. These lecturers made preaching their especial business. They frequently remained in the vestry of the church until the service was completed, and then they would issue forth and mount the pulpit and preach sometimes very long sermons. They were a company of religious free lances, but very slightly attached to any religious organisation, and were generally Calvinistic in doctrine. These especially attracted the notice of Laud, who attempted, not with complete success, to put them down. Lectures were formerly delivered generally in Holyrood Church. The town lecturer from 1607-1615 was Mr. Thomas Hitchcock, who appears to have been a man of some note, and who evidently commanded the love and esteem of the people. A most interesting deposition has been preserved which illustrates the power of Mr. Hitchcock. "Forasmuch as we and the rest of the inhabitants of this towne by good experience doe find the great love and affeccon that our now lecturer Mr. Thomas Hitchcocke beareth unto this Towne, insomuch that his willingnes to contynewe and abide amongst us is such that he is verie ready and doth preffer to exchange anie lyvinge that shall befal unto him for any small thinge in this towne, although the same shall exceede by much the value of this, rather then to

depart from us. And more especially, wch is above all things to be regarded, havinge had nowe almost four yeres experience of his doctrine life and conversacon to be such and soe religious as he hath donn great good in this place by his extraordinarie zealous and laborious preaching whereby he hath bread great reformacon in many of the inhabitants of this place, as alsoe for his great paines taken in the vacancies of the two vicorages of St. Michael's and Holyroode, wee the sayd Aldermen and Assistants in consideracon of the promisse and in farther hope of the greate good and blessinge of God that is like to come uppon this place by his faithfull prceedinge in his mynistry and contynuall labors in Gods service by him, so well begun and hitherto countynued, and doe by theis prsents as much as in us lyeth constrane the said Mr. Thos. Hitchcock to be our lecturer soe longe as it shall be to his good likinge and he shall contynewe personally with this our towne, hoping and not doubting but that our verie good Lo Bishopp of Winton will give approbation thereunto."

In the year 1615 the vicar of Holyrood, James Rowlandson, the rector of St. Laurence and St. John's, William Pyne, and the vicar of St. Michael's, George Vernon, were appointed to deliver the Thursday lectures at Holyrood. They were "to have the contribucons equally betweene them. (They havinge agreed amongst themselves to yt purpose.) And two or three sufficient persons of everie parishe of this Towne shall be named and appoynted to repaire to such as will contribute to the same lecture and sett down in writinge what everie of them will yerely contribute thereunto." The king's declaration of 1629 in which he enjoined silence upon the conflicting voices in the Church of England, and the orders given concerning lecturers, must have made some alteration in the character of these lectures. The Archdeacon of Winchester sent a paper to the Borough authorities giving very precise directions as to the arrangement of lectures. None were now to

take upon themselves the function of preaching who were not attached to some cure. The preacher must not now mount the pulpit unless he had previously read the church service in his surplice, and when he entered the pulpit he must be clothed in his preaching gown. Still these lectures were continued, and we find among the lecturers of 1647 Nathaniel Robinson, who was a Presbyterian intruder.

(*d*) *The Separatists and the Rise of Organised Nonconformity.*—The contrary forces which were struggling for mastery within the Church of England finally resulted in a schism. In the year 1662, organised Dissent was born. Separatist communities arose in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and multiplied their number considerably during the Stuart period. Still until the passing of the Clarendon Code there had been no such things as Nonconformity on a large scale. It is noteworthy that neither the Anglican nor the Presbyterian regarded the toleration of independent religious communities with anything but the liveliest aversion. To permit them to realize their religious life in their own way seemed to most men of that day to open the flood-gates to an absolute deluge of individualism fatal to the very existence of revealed religion. The exigencies of the political situation under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, together with the dominance of a mind—that of Oliver Cromwell—to which toleration was a congenial idea, swept away the barriers which Episcopalian and Presbyterian religionists had so zealously maintained. Cromwell established a Puritan state church, and extended his toleration to all those sects which maintained a religion consistent (to his way of thinking), with historic Christianity. Anglicanism which had identified itself with the Royalist cause was proscribed because it was politically dangerous, not because it was religiously heterodox. The Roman Catholic faith and the Socinian creed could not be recognised because to the Puritan they were utterly

subversive of the Christian religion. At the Restoration, when the Anglican came to his own again, the sects became the victims of bitter persecution; and it was only the attack of James II. upon Protestantism itself which induced the ecclesiastics of the Church of England to hold out the olive branch to the despised Nonconformists. When James II. was driven off the throne and William III. became king a Toleration Act granting freedom of worship to all orthodox Protestants was necessitated by the logic of events.

The authorities of Southampton were sometimes perplexed as to the treatment of Separatists. Two or three prominent inhabitants of the town were connected with the Nonconformists' cause; notably Nathaniel Robinson, Giles Say, Robert Thorner and Isaac Watts (father of the eminent divine and hymn-writer). In the assembly book an entry dated January 18th, 1646/7, runs as follows: "Ordered that Mr. Robinson bee sent for to the Audithouse and to bee advised to preach noe more excepte hee procure himselfe to bee legally ordained accordinge to the Ecclesiastical lawes of this Realme. But answere was returned that hee was gon out of the Towne." Two days later a special meeting was convened "to consider what course is fitt to bee taken with Mr. Robinson who is not an ordeyned minister and yett preacheth publiqely." The matter was held over until Major Murford had been consulted; but on the same day orders were given to the constables to warn several suspected inhabitants of the town "that from henceforth they doe not meete at any conventicles or unlawfull assemblies to heare the word of God preached or expounded by any person whatsoever that is not lawfully ordeyned." Nathaniel Robinson, although he did not receive episcopal ordination, became rector of the combined parishes of St. Laurence and St. John's about the year 1648, and later on about the year 1653 he was intruded into the living of All Saints. Upon the passing of the Act of Uni-

formity, 1662, he was ejected from his livings and became the minister of an Independent congregation, which developed into the Above Bar Congregational Church. A fellow in misfortune with him was Giles Say, vicar of St. Michael's, who was expelled from his living at the same time, and who ended his days as minister of a nonconformist community at Guestwick in Norfolk. Both these men during the period of persecution which marked the reigns of Charles II. and James II. preached as opportunity occurred in private houses, and suffered imprisonment for so doing. The year 1683, which marked the complete triumph of the king over his Whig opponents, seems to have brought a resurgence of the persecuting spirit. In that year Nathaniel Robinson was bound over in a sum of £40 to appear at the next sessions; and the beadles were ordered to "make presentm^ts of all such persons within there severall wards that doe not repaire to their respective Parish Churches: and that those presentm^ts be made every Tuesday." The order was repeated the following year. "Ordered that warr^ts doe issue to ye Constables to require the Bidells to make present of all persons that refuse or neglect to come to Church." The Toleration Act was however not far distant. In July of the year 1687, "Nathaniel Robinson did this day come into Court and give notice pursuant to a late act of Parliament that the house he intends to preach in is the New built house above bar street in the p^ish of All Sts between the houses of John ffoy on the South part and the widow Palmer on the North." At the same time a certain Richard King named "the house where John Greenwood now dwelleth to be the house wherein he intends to preach." Richard King probably became minister of a Baptist Church, which it seems likely was the original of the congregation which now meets in East Street Baptist Chapel. The history of this Church prior to the year 1764 is unfortunately lost to view. Although Southampton, during the time when Dissenters

were subjected to a most bitter persecution, was in all probability a pretty safe refuge for the Separatists, yet Nonconformity did not flourish until many years after the Act of Toleration. The Above Bar Church seems to have been the only noteworthy Dissenting place of worship up to the year 1780. Concerning this chapel there are two or three features worthy of remark. It is noteworthy that in 1689 the Church consisted of a Minister (Rev. Nathaniel Robinson) two elders, four deacons and seventy-four members, of whom half were men and half women. Among the elders was Mr. Robert Thorner who died in the year 1690, leaving bequests for religious, educational and charitable objects. He had held the meeting-house where the congregation worshipped on lease, and at his death bequeathed the remainder of the lease to the officers of the Church together with a sum of £200. Among his other charities he left £500 to go to Harvard College in America and money to go to the establishment of an alms-house for poor widows in Southampton. One of the deacons was Isaac Watts, who had suffered imprisonment in God's House prison for his nonconformity, and who is chiefly noteworthy as the father of the famous hymn-writer. This latter was born in the year 1674. He was educated at the Grammar School of Southampton, and later on in life preached several times in Above Bar Church. A handsome monument in one of the town's parks celebrates his memory. It is worthy of remark that in the year 1680 the Quakers obtained possession of a piece of ground in the Avenue for a burial ground which is still in their possession.

The seventeenth century thus witnessed the only possible solution of the religious difficulty. Toleration, though granted after much struggle and grudgingly—for Unitarianism and Roman Catholicism were still proscribed—was the only course to which events irresistibly pointed. The full working out of the

principle of freedom in religion was only a matter of time. And to this consummation the labours and sufferings of men like Nathaniel Robinson and Giles Day contributed not a little.

There is one other feature of religious belief to which reference must be made in closing this chapter—a feature which was not peculiar to the seventeenth century, and which is less marked towards the close of that century—and that is the practically universal belief in witchcraft.

(*e*) *Witchcraft.*—The men of that day had as lively a belief in the powers of evil as they had in the powers of good. And their vivid realisation of the contact between the individual soul and the unseen spiritual forces surrounding it led them to inflict fearful punishments upon those whom they believed to be instruments not of the Divine but of the demoniac activity. Should any judge, influenced by humanitarian sentiment or common sense, refuse to sentence a so-called wizard or witch, grave doubts were entertained concerning his religious condition. It is fearful to think of the atrocities committed which were inspired by a belief that was regarded as bound up with the Christian religion. The responsibility for these atrocities cannot with justice be laid solely on any one section of religious England; "In its origin," says G. M. Trevelyan in his book on "England under the Stuarts" (p. 33), "the witch-hunt was stirred up by no section; it arose out of a profound and universal belief." Still, a special fanaticism with reference to witchcraft characterised the Calvinists, who, as Professor Gardiner has so well pointed out, regarded the law of God as a commandment forbidding what was wrong rather than as a living harmony of infinite varieties. James I., who neglected the higher aspects of the creed of his native-land, thoroughly believed in the activity of the spirits of evil. In the year 1603, a new law was made against witchcraft, and 70,000 people were put to death between the

dates of 1603 and 1680 for this impossible offence.* The principal things forbidden were to remove or conjure an evil spirit, to consult, convenant with, or feed one; to take up the body of a dead person for use in magic, to hurt life or limb, to seek for treasure or lost or stolen goods, to procure love, or to injure cattle by means of charms. In the year 1632, a certain William Barchseale was cited before the magistrates of Southhampton for using witchcraft to discover the whereabouts of some stolen cloth. He was heard to state "that any man going about to find out stolen goods doth yt with greate difficultie, with fastinge and prayinge three daies together, and greate paines taken therein. And when a spirrit is raysed none hath power to see yt but children of eleven or twelve yeares of age or such as are true maides." The magistrates asked this man "what arte or meanes hee used to discover theis parties" (those who had stolen the cloth), and he replied that "hee used noe magicall arte or comunicacon but onlie a key and a bible." He was referred for trial to the next assizes.

A most interesting story connected with witchcraft was narrated before the justices in the year 1636 by a certain John Primmer, who had had the misfortune to be lodged in the Bargate prison. He said that a fellow prisoner named Robert Keyes began to talk to him, one day, in a rather uncanny manner about weird and ghostly sights which appeared in the prison at night time—sights which it seemed this Keyes could summon "Betweene the houres of XI and XII at midnight" (runs the deposition) "the said Keyes blew out his candle and spake certain words w$^{ch}$ this Exa$^{ite}$ understood not and that thereupon presently appeared five strange things in sundrye shapes, one like a bull, another in the forme of a white beare, and the other three like little puppy dogs without heads tumbling on the

*Social England by H. D. Traill and J. S. Mann, Vol. IV., p. 120.

ground before him; whereat this exa^ite being affrighted began to rise up where hee lay and the said Keyes willed him not to be afraid, for they should doe him noe harme, and that all the time theis apparitions were in the prison (being about the space of a quarter of an hour) the said Keyes spake certaine words to them w^ch this examinate understood not, and that there was a greate light in the prison all that tyme. And that upon the suddaine they all vanished away, but how this exa^ite knoweth not." The whole story is redolent of Phosphorus, and recalls a certain vivid scene in Charles Reade's novel the "Cloister and the Hearth."

Such depositions as these show how real to our forefathers was the belief in direct communication between men and spirits, and how easy it was for a bad man to utilise this credulity to further his own ends. Indeed, we reach here a consideration which has not always been taken into account. It is of course impossible to justify the infamous laws which were made against an impossible offence. Yet it is worthy of note that not a few of those who pretended to be in possession of supernatural powers did so for some unworthy object. These merited punishment, but of course not punishment of such terrible severity as was dealt out to them. The growth of humanitarian sentiment and the predominance of the scientific temper have made witch-hunting an absolute impossibility.

W. Camfield, M.A.

## Ministerial Co-operation in Yorkshire, 1787.

The following interesting document has been communicated by Jas. Cocks, Esq., of Bredbury.

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Rules to be observed by the Ministers engaged in preaching the monthly Lectures.

WE whose names are under-written, being Ministers of the Independent Churches in the West-Riding of this County, considering ourselves in Duty bound according to our Abilities, to promote the Interest of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Good of our Fellow Creatures in the Earth, with a View hereunto have agreed to the following Rules :

I. That there shall be a monthly Lecture for eight Months in each Year, to be held at our several Places of Residence by regular Rotation, except an Exchange of Places be mutually agreed upon by the Parties more immediately concerned.

II. That two Ministers in this Connexion shall preach at each Lecture : Subjects left to their own Discretion.

III. That the Ministers of this Association shall be called upon to preach at these Lectures, according to the Time elapsed since they were engaged on such Occasions.

IV. That if a Minister fall sick, or be otherwise unavoidably prevented from filling up his Place, it shall rest with him to appoint a Minister in this Connexion to officiate as his Substitute.

V. Such occasional Services done for an absent Brother shall not exempt the officiating Minister from being called upon in due Course to take his Part at these Meetings according to Appointment.

VI. That wherever the Church or Congregation shall of their own Goodwill choose to bear the expences of a Dinner for the Ministers, or any Part thereof, it shall be thankfully accepted, without any murmurings or hard Thinking against other Congregations.

VII. In order that the Expences of this Undertaking may fall upon the Ministers with as great Equallity as possible, We mutually agree, that every Minister in this Association, being absent at such stated times, shall, for every such Instance, forfeit one Shilling towards the Expences, to be laid out as Circumstances shall require. These Forfeits to be advanced by the Minister upon the Premises where the Lecture is held, and by him collected afterwards as Opportunity shall serve. Forfeits the same as at other Times altho. the Expences be born by the People belonging to the Place.

VIII. That the Place where, and time when each Lecture shall be held, together with the Nomination of Ministers to preach, with all other matters relative to this Business shall always be settled at the last Meeting in the Year. N.B.—No Alterations to be made but by a Majority at that Meeting.

IX. As the Scriptures call upon Ministers to be Ensamples to the People, we mutually agree, that if any Member of this Association shall be guilty of such Immoralities as exclude Persons from Church Communion, or deny the fundamental Doctrines of the Scriptures, viz., The Fall of Man and all his Posterity by Sin—The Deity of Christ—Atonement by his Death—Justification by his Righteousness and eternal Life by him, shall first be admonished as a Brother; but, if no Reformation take place, and a Majority appear against him, he shall be excluded from this Society.

X. Be it further observed, we have no objection to hear the Cases of contending Parties between whom Differences may arise, but give up all Pretensions to any Power in us to decide upon other Churches Matters

of Dispute. We can only give what we wish always to be ready to receive, viz., Advice in disputable Cases.

XI. That Company promiscuously shall not be admitted into the Minister's Room until the Business belonging to the Association be concluded.

Lastly. That any Expences occurring to the Secretary for the Time being, either by Postage for Letters or otherwise relating to these Lectures, shall, at the End of every Year be reimbursed out of the Monies raised by Forfeits.

Signed by Order of the Meeting
T. Knight, Halifax
T. Grove, Rotherham
J. Toothill, Hopton
J. Dawson, Cleckheaton
S. Walker, Northowram
W. Moorhouse, Huddersfield
Robt. Galland, Holmfirth
J. Cockin, Kippin
(W.) Tapp, Pontefract
(T.) Holgate, Bradford
(J.) Sowden, Morley
(S.) Bruce, Wakefield
(E.) Parsons, Leeds
S. Lowell, Bridgehouse
(J.) Brewer, Sheffield
(O.) Bennett, Heckmondwike.
Halifax, 11 *April*, 87.

NOTES.

Rev. Titus Knight.—First Minister of Square Chapel, Halifax (1772–1791). Died 1792, aged 74. Author of "Dialogues on Important Subjects," etc.

Rev. Thomas Grove—of Rotherham (1777–1793). "One of the Oxford Students expelled for praying, reading and expounding the Scriptures." At Wooburn (Berks), 1768–1777. Removed from Rotherham to Walsall. Died October 6th, 1817. (See Summer's "History of Berks to Congregational Churches," page 83.

Rev. Jonathan Toothill.—Educated at Heckmondwike Academy. Minister at Hopton, 1766–1826. Died June 1st, 1826, aged 83 years.

Rev. James Dawson—of Heckmondwike Academy. Minister at Cleckheaton, 1769–1795.

Rev. Samuel Walker—of Heckmondwike Academy. At Northowram, 1775–1792. Succeeded Rev. Joseph Scott as Tutor of Heckmondwike Academy. Died in 1796.

Rev. William Moorhouse.—First Minister of the Congregational Church at Huddersfield (1772–1823). A leading spirit in the foundation of Rotherham College. Died 1823, aged 80.

Rev. Robert Galland.—Heckmondwike Academy. At Holmfirth from 1779 to 1800. Previously at Ilkeston. Died 1801, aged 62.

Rev. Joseph Cockin.—Heckmondwike Academy. Ministered at Kipping Church, Bradford, from 1778 to 1791. Removed to Square Chapel, Halifax, in 1792, where he remained until his death in 1828.

Rev. William Tapp.—Details of his life are meagre. He removed from Pontefract in 1791.

Rev. Thomas Holgate.—Horton Lane Chapel, Bradford, 1784–1806. Previously at Marple Bridge, Derbyshire. Died 1806, aged 58 years.

Rev. Joseph Sowden.—Educated at Trevecca Academy. Minister at Rehoboth Chapel, Morley (from Truro) in 1782. Ebenezer Chapel, Booth, 1787–1794, whence he removed to Sowerby. Went to Warrington in 1800, and died at Bolton, 1822.

Rev. Samuel Bruce.—Heckmondwike Academy. Removed from Grimsby to Zion Chapel, Wakefield (1782–1826). Died June 1st, 1833, aged 79 (see "Evangelical Magazine," August, 1833).

Rev. Edward Parsons.—Trevecca. White Chapel and Salem Chapel, Leeds, 1785–*circa*. 1833.

Rev. Samuel Lowell.—North-end Chapel, Brighouse, 1782–1789. Removed to Woodbridge, Suffolk, and afterwards to Bridge Street, Bristol.

Rev. Jehoiada Brewer.—First Minister of Queen Street Chapel, Sheffield (1783–1795). Removed to Carr's Lane, Birmingham, 1795. See "Independency in Warwickshire," page 179.

Rev. Obadiah Bennett.—Upper Chapel, Heckmondwike, 1786–1792, when he resigned.

## Concerning Periwigs

(These curious verses may be taken as representing the decadence of New England Puritanism. The British Museum Press-Mark is 11623. a. 60).

### SIGNS OF APOSTASY LAMENTED.

Dost thou the Name of *Christian* Profess ?
Then let some Signs appear in *outward* Dress ;
Or else a sore Suspition thou dost leave,
That CHRIST indeed thy Soul did ne're receive ;
So as of Him alone to make thy Choice,
In saddest Sorrows in Him to Rejoyce.

ART thou one of CHRIST's Sheep, where is the Mark ?
Is that it on thy Head ? it's very Dark ;
It hardly will be own'd at the last Day,
But JESUS CHRIST unto all such will say,
Away be gone, begone away from me,
I am displeas'd *both* with thy Garb *and* Thee.

LET thy *Attire* be such in any case,
As may bear *outward* Signs of *inward* Grace ;
Then sure those Signs some carry on their Head,
So plainly show the inward Man is Dead.
LORD, pluck such Brands as these out of the Fire,
So we thy Rich Grace shall the more Admire,
And make us Blush, and be Asham'd that we
Should *Glory* in that, which our *Shame* should be.

THE Word of GOD calls things by the right name,
So do not we, lest we ourselves should blame :
Pride by the name of Decency we call,
Although to *Adam* it gave such a fall ;
Which hath benumm'd our Senses, so that we
Remain stark Blind, till GOD doth make us see :
The greater is the Danger we are in
By reason of that Toothsome Cursed Sin.

O what a shame to *Christians* should this be ;
That *Sorcerers* should so affected be,
As by *Paul's* Preaching from their Sins to turn,
And readily all their ill Books to burn ?
O that our *Top-knot* wearers would do so,
Their foolish *Baubles* readily forego ;
O what an Honour it would be to them
In sight of GOD, and of all sober men ?

WHEN *Periwigs* in thrones and *Pulpits* get,
And *Hairy Top-knots* in high seats are set ;
Then may we Pray, have Mercy, LORD, on us
That in *New England* it should now be thus,
Which in time past a Land of Pray'r hath been,
But now is Pray'r turn'd out of Doors by Sin :
For *Pride* and *Prayer* can't together dwell.
One leads to Heaven, the *other* leads to Hell.

Art thou a *Christian*, O then why dost wear
Upon thy Sacred Head, the filthy *Hair*
Of some vile Wretch, by foul Disease that fell,
Whose Soul perhaps is burning now in Hell ?
O therefore I do you most humbly pray,
Your monstrous *Perriwigs* cast quite away :
If JESUS CHRIST unto your Souls were sweet,
Those *Toys* on Head you'd trample under Feet,
And say to them with indignation
As *Ephraim* to his Idols, be you gone ;
We never will have more to do with you,
Lest GOD in's wrath out of his Land us Spue.

A TENDER Conscience a great Blessing is,
Sure willingly such will not do amiss ;
But carefully will watch against all Sin,
In *outward* Man as well as Heart within :
Abstaining all appearances of Evil,
Lest they therein resemble should the Devil.
Many there are that say they do believe,
But they therein do but themselves deceive ;
For Faith that's true will purifie the Heart,
And from the most beloved Sin will part.

WHAT Mercy is't, that GOD will chide and strike
His dearest Children ; if they will walk like
The foolish World, who Lust and Pride do mind,
Reward thereof they in the end will find
Bitter to be, if on they yet do go,

Because Sin leads to final overthrow.
Then help us LORD to mend our way, that we
In Heart and Life may wholly turn to Thee ;
And cast away our *Foolish Fancies* all,
Lest GOD in wrath take *Head* and *Crown* and all.

I AM amazed much to think how we
Are backward gone from GOD, and cannot see
Who'ere allow themselves in *one* known Sin,
Satan hath got such safely in his Gin :
And if that their Repentance come too late,
All such will be shut out of Heaven's Gate ;
If you therefore this Gate would enter in,
You must be sure to fight against *all* Sin.
No *Perriwig*, or *Hairy Top-knot* spare,
Though they as dear as Eye or Right-hand are ;
Else thou canst not with *David* say, Lord I
Have kept myself from *mine* Iniquity !

A *Caution* to prevent *Scandal.*

A FALSE Report against thy Brother, thou
Shalt not take up, much less thy self allow
Him to defame, in Thought, a Deed, or Tongue :
GOD is a just Revenger of such Wrong.
And will *again* them pay in their own Coin,
Who *thus* their Brother's Credit do purloin ;
And will on such his Righteous Sentence pass,
Which shall make them cry out, woe and Alas !
That ever I my Brother's Name should tear,
Whom I in Love upon my Heart should bear !
As CHRIST my Saviour hath commanded me,
Whereby thou mayst know He hath Loved thee.
If thou dost not Love Him whom thou dost see,
How can'st thou say in Heart thou Lovest Me ?
Which Love, O LORD, in me increase, that I,
Whilst I do Live, may longing be to Dye.

---

By a Friend, who though no lover of *Perriwigs* or *Top-knots*, yet is a real lover *of*, and well-wisher *to*, and a hearty petitioner *for* the Eternal Salvation of your precious immortal Souls.

BENJAMIN BOSWORTH,
of *New-England.*
In the 81st Year of my Age, 1693.

# THE
# Congregational Historical Society

**(FOUNDED 1899).**

---

*President:* Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D.

*Chairman:* Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., Litt.D.,
Miltona, Riley Avenue, St. Anne's-on-Sea.

*Treasurer:* H. A. Muddiman, Esq.,
79, The Avenue, Higham's Park, London, E. 4.

*Editorial Secretary:* Rev. T. G. Crippen,
The Library, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C. 4.

*General Secretary:* Rev. Wm. Pierce,
33, Handsworth Avenue, E. 4.

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Membership of the Society is open contributing to its Funds as—

(*a*) Life Members paying 10 guineas in lieu of annual subscriptions.

(*b*) Honorary Members paying an annual subscription of not less than one guinea.

(*c*) Ordinary Members paying an annual subscription of five shillings.

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*Subscriptions are due on the 1st January, and should be sent to the Treasurer.*

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**The TRANSACTIONS of the Society are sent free to Subscribers.**

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# Congregational Historical Society

# Transactions

Vol. VIII. No. 4] [JANUARY, 1922

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# EDITORIAL.

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on May 11th, 1921, Rev. Dr. Nightingale presiding. Owing to the arranging of important denominational meetings at the time usually occupied by our society, the attendance was small.

The usual routine business was transacted, and the officers re-elected. A cordial welcome was given to our treasurer, H. A. Muddiman, Esq., who had put the finances of the society in order, and by his expert knowledge of paper and printing had been able to get the "Transactions" advantageously printed, and further relieved the funds by having the issues posted to subscribers through his own clerical staff.

The accounts for the year ending December 31st, 1920, had been duly audited, and are summarized as follows:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance forward, 1919 .. .. .. .. .. | 52 | 3 | 6 |
| Subscriptions .. .. .. .. .. .. | 67 | 10 | 1 |
| Sales .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 4 | 10 | 8 |
| | 124 | 4 | 3 |
| Printing, Vol. VIII., 1 and 2 .. .. .. .. | 68 | 5 | 6 |
| Hire of Room, Memorial Hall .. .. .. .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Postages and Sundries .. .. .. .. .. | 4 | 13 | 3 |
| Cash in Hand .. .. .. .. .. .. | 50 | 4 | 6 |
| | £124 | 4 | 3 |

Several suggestions were made as to the better organization of the society; as that an effort should be made to form branch societies representing County or Provincial areas; and that an annual register should be printed of works published by members.

The secretary was instructed to send a message of affectionate greeting to our venerable President, Rev. Dr. Brown.

* * * *

The usual Autumnal Meeting was held at the Western College, Bristol, on Wednesday, October 5th, 1921. Owing in part to several simultaneous meetings, and in part to the remoteness of the College from the local centre of the Congregational Union the attendance was depressingly small; but those who were present were amply rewarded by the freshness of the paper read by Rev. C. E. Watson of Rodborough, on "George Whitefield and his Relations with Gloucestershire Congregationalism." In this were presented some facts not generally known, facts which the biographers of the great evangelist seem to have generally wished to conceal. A very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Watson, who was requested to put his paper in the hands of the secretary for publication. To this Mr. Watson assented, subject to some preliminary revision of the MS., the first part of which appears in our present issue.

* * * *

We have received from Rev. A. S. Langley, F.R.H.S., of Louth, a transcript of some interesting correspondence between Rev. F. Tallents, of Shrewsbury—one of the ministers ejected in 1662—and Sir Edward Harley, K.B., father of the Earl of Oxford, so conspicuous in the days of Queen Anne. These letters were found in the library of the Duke of Portland, K.G., at Welbeck Abbey; and by kindness of His Grace, and the Courtesy of his librarian Mr. R. W. Goulding, F.S.A., we have permission to put them before our readers. We hope, therefore, to produce a first instalment of the series in our next issue.

* * * *

We would earnestly appeal to our subscribers to do what they can for the increase of our membership. We have a number of interesting papers in hand; but beside these there are several important treatises that need reprinting, but which our funds have never yet permitted us to undertake. Foremost is Robert Browne's "Book that Showeth the Manners of all True Christians" (1582, and never reprinted); then the "Spurious Marprelate Dialogue, not reprinted since 1640; Vavasor Powell's "Sufferers' Catechism," 1664, etc.

It is also very desirable to print correctly the "Survey of the Dissenting Interest," commenced in 1716–17 and corrected to 1729, commonly know as "The Evans MS." This has been carefully copied, but we have not yet been able to incur the cost of publication.

## Whitefield and Congregationalism

IN the calendar of Whitefield's career probably no year was more critical, at any rate so far as our particular study of him is concerned, than the year 1751. And yet of this year so voluminous an authority as Tyerman gives very little account; and Gledstone goes so far as to say that "from January 1751 to December 1752 there occurred nothing that deserves detailed comment in a life like this."

Owing to the great preacher's careful editing of his own letters and journals, and to a like judicious censorship exercised by the biographer of the Countess of Huntingdon, the one great illuminating feature of Whitefield's public life has been hidden from the eyes of his recorders; and without this it is impossible fully to interpret his actions over the period of a number of critical years, and most especially so in respect to his attitude towards Nonconformity. With the material before them collated by Tyerman for example, few on scanning the national annals of 1751 would suspect that the dominating incident of that year for Whitefield and his Calvinist colleagues was the death of the Prince of Wales. Yet so it was; and for this reason: from the earliest days of his potent ministry Whitefield had indulged the hope that he would be raised to the episcopal bench. The first fabric of the dream was based on foundations that were fantastic enough, but as his popularity grew and his influence extended to many who had rank and power in the State, both the edifice and the foundation on which it rested became more substantial.

Looking over the intervening generations one can

realize something of the enormous difference that such a move would have made in the fortunes, not only of the Established Church, but possibly even of the growing Empire itself. It was not only the tax on tea that severed the American colonies from the Homeland.

But it was in its effect upon the revival movement as a whole that Whitefield and his friends were most intensely concerned. At one stroke the vast work of the Wesleys and Whitefield here and across the Atlantic, and of Howell Harris and Daniel Rowland in Wales, would have been claimed for the Church of England, for had Whitefield had the power to ordain, well, the full possibilities baffle imagination !

How near that dream came to fulfilment no one now seems likely ever to know, but it was dissolved by the death of the Prince of Wales, and as that event took place when Whitefield was thirty-seven years of age, it divides his working life into two fairly equal parts. For the purpose of our enquiry it will be found convenient to consider him as he was before and after that critical 1751 ; for in respect to Congregationalism the effect of that year was tremendous.

From 1718 to 1742 the Congregational Church at Gloucester had for its pastor one Thomas Cole, an earnest and evangelical minister of the Gospel. Young Whitefield, the son of the hostess of the neighbouring inn, though of Anglican birth and up-bringing, was no stranger to the interior of the Southgate meeting-house, and it is recorded that one of the elders or deacons, accosting the young fellow in the street one day, asked him what he meant to make of himself when he grew up. He replied that he would be a parson, and added, with a twinkle : " But I shan't tell stories in the pulpit like the old Cole "—an interesting declaration, not only because it was so utterly falsified in the event, but also because it reveals something of the unusual character of the preaching of the old Congregationalist. After his ordination Cole met the young curate in the street, and

laying his hand upon his arm he observed, "I understand that young Whitefield can tell stories in the pulpit as well as the old Cole!"

If this little incident serves to remind us that some of the earliest impressions of live religion that entered the great preacher's life were associated with Independency, we may perchance be disposed to do fuller justice to the memory of Thomas Cole than has been done hitherto. For this was the man who became the director of the revival forces in and around Whitefield's native city, and the recognized leader of the Methodist societies there. When Whitefield, driven out of the churches, made "mounts his pulpits and the heavens his sounding-boards," Cole added a circuit of preaching stations to his work as pastor of the Southgate Church; and when, in 1742, he was stricken for death, he was preaching in the open air at Nymphsfield.

On one of the great upland spurs of the Cotswolds above Stroud, and some eleven miles from Gloucester, lies a three-mile stretch of common with Rodborough at its nearer and Minchinhampton at its further extremities. This was a favourite preaching place with Whitefield, and here his audiences ranged from five to twenty thousand people. Here preaching in 1739 a young man of Minchinhampton, Thomas Adams by name, was brought to a sense of things divine, and began gathering a little company of earnest folk for prayer and scripture reading. From this he passed to offering a few words of exhortation and finally to preaching. When Cole died he became the leader of the Calvinist revival movement in Gloucestershire and finally an itinerating preacher of power and influence throughout the whole of the Calvinist area. By up-bringing and inclination he was an Anglican, but of the three men who were most closely associated with him in the Stroud district, two at least were of Nonconformist origin, one William Hogg of Painswick being a member of the Stroud Old Meeting, whose minister, Thomas Jenkins, was in full

sympathy with the Methodist movement. Hogg was a member of this church, however, because primarily he was a Methodist, for the great purpose of early Methodism was to avoid by all possible means the formation of a new sect. Their aim was to pervade and revive the existing churches. Hence the early rules that Methodist societies should not meet at the ordinary hours of service; that their lay preachers should be called "exhorters," and their assemblies "societies," and that every enrolled member of a society should be a communicant either at church or meeting.

The maintenance of these rules was by no means easy, and as the opposition of the Anglican clergy became more pronounced, and the rank and file of the revival began to find themselves marked men in most churches and many meeting-houses, the advocates of separation were hard to be withstood.

By this time John Wesley had made his famous attempt to "turn John Calvin out of Bristol," and had succeeded in rending the Methodist forces in twain. The Moorfields Tabernacle had been built largely by supporters from among the dissenters in order that Whitefield might have an assured pulpit in London. The Calvinist communities had been organized into societies, and these societies subdivided into bands and classes, while the preachers—clerical and lay—were meeting in associations, some of which were local, and some general. These associations embraced not only the Whitefieldian societies in England, but the more numerous societies in Wales which had been formed by Howell Harris and Daniel Rowland.

At the first of these general associations—it was held in 1743 at Watford—there were present three Anglican and one Nonconformist minister and eight laymen, public exhorters; and strange to say an equal number of ministers and laymen were minuted as absent, so that the recognized preaching forces of Calvinistic Methodism at this epoch was six Anglican and two Non-

conformist ministers and sixteen lay-preachers. At this association George Whitefield was appointed Moderator, Howell Harris was made Superintendent over Wales and Moderator for Whitefield whenever he went to America.

Howell Harris, an ardent, devout, and temperamental Welshman, was a layman of excellent education, who had failed, because of his Methodist qualities, to obtain ordination. A fervid and somewhat bigoted Anglican, he was the strongest opponent of separatism. His responsibilities as Moderator began very soon after the Watford Association, and for seven years he was the titular head of all the Calvinist societies from London to Pembrokeshire; and the minutes of conferences and societies which he made include records of Moorfields and the other English societies during a great part of that period. Amongst these records there is a list of the thirty-one Whitefieldian societies in England in the year 1747.

It is an interesting fact that of the thirty-one societies there enumerated, if the old Dane-law division of England were taken, one, and only one, society would lie within it. Three met in London—Moorfields, Deptford and Bird Street—and next in order of precedence, owing to Whitefield's close identification with the County, were the four Gloucestershire societies—Gloucester, Minchinhampton, The Roadway, and Stancombe. Of these the position of Minchinhampton has already been described—it is a little Cotswold town lying on the high ground some three miles back from Stroud. The Roadway is a diminutive group of dwellings situated near to Randwick on what was then the main road between Stroud and Gloucester, and Stancombe is a township in a hollow of Stinchcombe Hill, not far from Dursley.

Connected with the thirty-one societies were twenty-seven established preaching stations, of which seven were in Gloucestershire.

The spiritual and administrative condition of the Whitefieldian connection in that year was, however, far from healthy. Whitefield had been out of the country more than three years, and Howell Harris had not been able to control the forces that seethed and fermented in the new movement. He was himself too variable and autocratic. His fellow-workers were impetuous and impatient of restraint. Within a year the Moravians had made a cleavage, and John Cennick, who earlier had held the fort for Calvinism against the raid of Wesley, abandoned his place in the Whitefieldian ranks. With him went a number of other workers and nearly all the societies in Wiltshire. It was at this juncture that the Countess of Huntingdon came into active association with the Calvinistic section and began to use her influence in its interests. But nevertheless, when, in 1748, Whitefield returned he found affairs in a state of chaos.

In order properly to understand the situation then, and the course of events leading up to the critical year 1751, it is necessary to keep three or four facts prominently in view.

First—The Established Church, at any rate so far as her clergy were concerned, was hostile to Methodism, and that hostility was taking shape and gathering force. The Nonconformists officially were standing aloof, and were more disposed to be critical than sympathetic. Yet there were important exceptions. It had been Nonconformists who had built Moorfields Tabernacle, and Whitefield himself could count among his intimate friends many dissenters in England and in America. The rank and file of Nonconformists recognized in his preaching the Puritan note, and probably in the official attitude of coldness adopted by some of the leading English Dissenters there was more snobbishness than anything else. Those who remember the assaults made upon Doddridge will know what I mean.

Another feature in the situation to be remembered

was the welter existing among the Methodists themselves. Many of them had been drawn from a nominal attachment to the Anglican Church and were woefully ignorant of the elementary doctrines of Christianity, utterly unused to Church administration, and absolutely untrained in giving. These things gave the Methodists who came in from Nonconformity a preponderating influence. The separatist section was therefore at once the most useful and the most troublesome to the leaders.

Next to be borne in mind is the fact that with the notable exception of Whitefield himself almost all the prominent people in the revival movement were autocrats, and not a little of the turmoil among the opposing factions at this as at later times was due to that fact. Berridge once described a situation in which John Wesley and the Countess of Huntingdon found themselves, as a contest between "Pope John and Pope Joan," and in these earlier days we must add Pope Howell Harris and Pope Daniel Rowland, just as at a subsequent date we have to add Pope Rowland Hill.

But most potent of all the troublesome factors at this critical juncture was that conviction of Whitefield's that he was destined for the episcopal bench. For the thing was not hidden from his friends and colleagues, and among the preachers a number were only held back from the separatist position by their hopes of ordination at his hand. A few indeed it is to be feared had chosen an itinerant ministry among the Methodists as offering a cheap and lazy way into the Anglican Ministry, and when Whitefield, still un-mitred, lingered in Georgia, these became untractable and unreliable. Even Howell Harris, earnest Methodist and loyal Anglican though he was, clave to Whitefield, of whom he was jealous, largely because his only hope of orders rested in him. In this connection we must note Howell Harris' expressed belief that Brother Whitefield himself, had it not been for his hope of episcopal rank, would

have been much more disposed to adopt a separative attitude. In his diary we find the following among five reasons that he gives for thinking that God did not intend a separation :—

"He has impressed it on Brother Whitefield's heart that he shall be a Bishop, and by that means keeps him . . . as he is."

It is perhaps fitting at this point to call into review the origin and growth of this confident anticipation of a bishopric which Whitefield and his followers indulged and on which so much rested. It is in a letter to John Wesley as early as 1735 that it makes its first appearance. He wrote—"I have mentioned his bishop; alas! how should I tremble to tell you how I have been continually disturbed with the thought that I, a worm, taken from a common public house, should ere I die be one myself! If you remember, sir, in my greatest affliction last Lent it was told me I should be a bishop, and therefore must be poor in spirit. That thought came home to me with so much force, and so many circumstances have since occurred to favour the temptation that I know not what to do."

That the circumstances did not cease to tempt, we have the evidence of a letter he wrote some four years later to his friend Samuel Mason. He begins :—

"And are the Methodists talked of at Court? I verily believe one day or other I shall be called thither. God prepare me for that hour."

Now unless it be urged that Whitefield's reference to the source of his dream is to a direct and Divine revelation—which is very doubtful—the prophet who counselled him in that hour of darkness must have been one who could and did command his utmost respect. Yet who, with any weight of character, even before he

had preached his first sermon, would have ventured upon so definite a prognostication? Can it be that Thomas Cole was responsible? Whitefield was in Gloucester about the time referred to, and the old Independent might easily use, in the Puritan way, the term "Bishop" of any one about to be ordained to the Ministry. Can it be that when the Congregationalist was thinking of his call to the Ministry—his bishopric in the New Testament sense—the young graduate was interpreting the word in the Anglican way? It is certainly a possibility.

Be that as it may, Whitefield did not shake off or, as time went on and his gifts became manifest, even continue the attempt to shake off the impression. Howell Harris made a memorandum of a conversation with him which took place in November, 1742. He records that he spoke "of the various promises set on his heart—about going to the King and to be made a Bishop, and how the Lord honours him."

Of friends at Court Whitefield had no lack. The Countess of Huntingdon was not the only one "turned Methodist" among those to whom Whitefield was wont to refer as the "great and noble," and there is some reason for thinking that George II. was willing that the English Chrysostom should find a place on the episcopal bench. Lord Bolingbroke in a letter to Lady Huntingdon wrote—"Your ladyship will be somewhat amused at hearing that the king has recommended to his Grace of Canterbury that Mr. Whitefield should be advanced to the bench, as the only means of putting an end to his preaching." This piece of sarcasm appears to mark either the beginning or the end of the King's efforts, for seemingly the hopes of the Methodists were much more set on the Prince of Wales. It will be remembered that the King and the Prince were on bad terms with one another, so much so indeed that the latter had established his own Court and was become the centre of the opposition to the Government.

The Countess of Huntingdon and many of the most influential people of the day attended the Court of the Prince and hopes were high of an accession to power when the death of the King or the collapse of his ministry should offer the opportunity. I am not suggesting that the Countess of Huntingdon and the other titled Methodists were involved in any of the political intrigues of the day, but inasmuch as the Prince of Wales was himself either a Methodist or so sympathetic to the movement as to convey the impression that he was, they had some reason to hope as they faced the future.

C. E. Watson.

*(To be Continued.)*

## The Old Scottish Independents

OF the various secessions from the National Church of Scotland which have occurred within the last two centuries, the greater number were due to the offensive exercise of patronage—i.e. the legal claim of landholders to appoint parish ministers without regard to the desire of the parishioners. The recognition of this claim by the General Assembly led to the constituting in 1761 of the Relief Synod. About the same time the magistrates and town council of Glasgow obtained a judicial decision confirming to them, as against the general kirk session of the city, the patronage of the Wynd Church. They thereupon appointed a minister who was unacceptable to a large section of the congregation; and these, under the leadership of Mr. David Dale, seceded, built a "Relief Meeting-house," and secured a minister of their own choice.

Meanwhile the ministers of two adjacent parishes in the County of Fife, Rev. Robert Ferrier of Largo and James Smith of Newburn, had become secessionists of a much more advanced type. Mr. Smith had published "A Compendious Account taken from Holy Scripture only, of the form and Order of the Church of God." (Edinburgh, 1765.) In this he pointed out that the Church Order described in the New Testament was Congregational; and though there is scripture precedent for taking counsel with another Church on a doubtful question, and for representation by delegates to arrange matters of common concern, there is no precedent for one Church exercising authority over another, or for such authority being exercised by a Church court, or by

the civil magistrate. Mr. Ferrier was of the same mind, and both these gentlemen finding it impossible to reconcile this view with several statements in the "Confession of Faith," to which they had subscribed at their ordination, as honest men they retracted their subscription, resigned their benefices, and published a statement and defence of their position. The title of the pamphlet is "The case of James Smith, late minister at Newburn, and of Robert Ferrier, late minister at Largo, truly represented and defended: Edinburgh, printed for the authors by A. Donaldson, 1768."

In this pamphlet it is assumed that the ecclesiastical arrangements which the New Testament shows to have existed in the lifetime of the apostles, must have been divinely ordained, not only for the time then present, but for all the after ages. And since the New Testament seems to know nothing of a National Church Establishment, nor of "kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, or general assemblies, which are commonly called Church courts," all these things are to be repudiated as illegitimate.

Having replied, not without asperity, to various objections which Presbyterian apologists would naturally make against the Congregational Order, Messrs. Ferrier and Smith proceed in a brief appendix to enunciate their views on some points of doctrine. (1) While clearly affirming the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, they take exception to the scholastic terms in which that doctrine is usually formulated. (2) They disapprove of the statement (in the "Confession of Faith") that "The principal acts of saving faith are accepting, receiving, resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life." Faith they say, is "not a complex, but a very simple thing; it is that knowledge which we get of a truth or fact by means of testimony"; it "does not consist in a train of mental actings, as above mentioned . . . which are indeed inseparable effects of faith, but are not so many

ingredients in its precise nature." (3) They deny in the most emphatic manner the claim of the civil magistrate "to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship or discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed." The whole doctrine of the "Confession of Faith" as regards the relation of the civil magistrate to the Church they declare to be "unscriptural, opposite to the spirit of Christianity, and inconsistent with the rights of conscience."

An independent Church was constituted on these principles at Balchristie in Co. Fife, of which Messrs. Smith and Ferrier were elders. Their pamphlet came under the notice of David Dale and others at Glasgow, and so impressed them that they came to regard Congregational Independency as the only legitimate order. They therefore deemed it their duty to separate from the recently constituted Relief Church. For a time they held meetings in a private house; but as their numbers increased they built a meeting-house in Grey Friars' Wynd. Their speciality, at this stage, was that the Lord's Supper ought to be observed every week as the principal service of the Lord's Day, and that that all who thus came together to break bread should be known to each other by a joint profession of faith.

The society at Glasgow now sent a deputation to that at Balchristie, as a result of which intercommunications became frequent, and at length it was arranged that Ferrier should go to Glasgow as colleague with Dale in the oversight of that Church, while a local colleague was associated with Smith at Balchristie. For a time the Glasgow society, nicknamed "Daleites," endured much persecution in the way of mob violence; but this subsided, and many new adherents were gathered from Hamilton, Paisley and New Lanark. Churches at Perth, Methuen, and Kirkcaldy are represented as being

offshoots from that at Balchristie. A vigorous Church was also gathered at Dundee by a Mr. Andrew Scott, late a minister of the Antiburgher section of the Original Seceders; who had been deposed and excommunicated by the Antiburgher synod for denouncing the practice of swearing to the national covenant, which they insisted upon as a term of communion. Mention is also made of "Daleite" congregations at Edinburgh (from which there was a numerous Baptist secession), Airdrie, Earlsferry, Galashiels, Montrose, Marykirk and London.

Unfortunately in the space of two or three years dissension arose in the Glasgow fellowship. It was proposed to slightly vary the traditional order of worship; to stand while singing as well as at prayer, to make the Lord's Prayer a regular part of the weekly service, to respond with an audible Amen, etc. Dale urged mutual forbearance on these and similar matters; but Ferrier was insistent, and, with a few others, joined the small sect of the Glasites, otherwise called Sandemanians. Between these and the "Daleites," there was little if any appreciable diversity in doctrine; but the Glasites maintained an extremely rigid discipline, and strongly insisted on various usages which they deemed necessary to an accurate reproduction of the original and apostolic church order. Such were the necessity of a plurality of elders in each congregation; Second marriage a disqualification for eldership; a weekly social meal to correspond with the primitive "agape"; the "holy kiss," as a token of brotherhood; ceremonial foot-washing; prohibition of eating blood or things strangled, and of all games of chance; decision by lot in cases of uncertainty, and ultimate unity of judgment to be secured by the exclusion of resolute minorities.

The history of the "Daleites" or "Old Scottish Independents" as a distinct denomination extends from first to last over about forty-six years. During

this time the principle of a plurality of elders was generally, though not universally, adopted. Some of the churches received accessions from societies gathered by the labours of the brothers Haldane; others had losses through the growth of Baptist opinions. About 1799 "the church at Hamilton was much reduced by Arminianism, which carried with it one of their Elders." In 1810, a vacancy having occurred in the eldership at Dundee, "many in the church disapproved of the practice so often followed of calling a stranger who had been educated for the ministry at some academy; they thought it more scriptural to look out from among themselves persons to take the oversight of the church: to this those of more popular sentiments could not agree, and therefore withdrew from the church." In 1813 two other small societies came into being, one at Dunfermline, Co. Fife, and one at Strathaven, Co. Lanark.

The "Old Scottish Independents" were never numerous. It is to their honour, however, that there is only one serious ministerial scandal recorded among them, and this was speedily followed by frank confession and well-manifested penitence.

* * * * * * *

We now proceed to give some account of "The Churches denominated Inghamites," between whom and the "Old Scottish Independents" a union was effected in 1814.

Among the coterie of devout scholars at Oxford, whose meetings for mutual edification gained for them the nickname of "The Holy Club," by no means the least conspicious was Benjamin Ingham of Queen's College. He was born at Ossett, near Dewsbury, in June, 1712, and "took orders" in 1735, in which year he accompanied the Wesleys on their mission to Georgia. He was strongly attracted by the Moravian missionaries who were his fellow-voyagers, and joined them in their work. Returning to England in 1738 he was

one of the founders of the religious society in Fetter Lane in which Moravian influence was strong, and from which Wesley and his adherents seceded. Ingham preached in various churches in Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax, and elsewhere, until, his zealous evangelical ministrations being distasteful to the bishop and many of the clergy, he was inhibited from preaching in the Episcopalian pulpits in the diocese of York. He continued to work with the Moravians in various places, and, being a wealthy man, gave the site for the Moravian settlement at Fulneck. He now preached wherever he could obtain a pulpit, and in the open air ; and formed numerous religious societies on a plan similar to those of Wesley, but with features borrowed from the Moravians. He built several chapels and welcomed the co-operation of several capable lay-preachers, who looked to him as their head.

In 1741 he married Lady Margaret Hastings, sister of the Earl of Huntingdon. By this union he was brought into close relations with the Countess, who received from him not a little spiritual enlightenment, though it is inaccurate to represent him as the instrument of her " Conversion."

About 1753 he formally severed his connection with the Moravians, and after a year or two formed a new organization in which the discipline was generally modelled on the Moravian, but with less rigidity. The doctrine was distinctly Calvinistic, much stress being laid on the theory of " Imputed Righteousness," i.e. that the guilt of a repentant sinner is imputed to Jesus Christ and punished in Him, while the Active Righteousness of the Saviour is imputed to believers for their justification. In 1755 the number of Ingham's societies, mostly in Yorkshire and Lancashire, amounted to at least eighty. In that year a general meeting of his lay-preachers was held at Winewall, near Colne, where Ingham was elected " General Overseer " of the societies. In that capacity he formally ordained two of the

preachers, William Batty and James Allen, as his colleagues in the ministry, thus breaking with the Episcopal Church by recognizing and conferring Non-prelatic Ordination. He thus anticipated the action of the Countess of Huntingdon by twenty years, and that of Wesley by thirty-four. At this time the connection seemed to have reached its highest measure of prosperity; and the "Kendal Hymnbook" was edited for the use of the societies by Messrs. Allen and Batty in 1757.

Soon after this, Ingham became aware of the rapid development of the movement initiated in Scotland by Messrs. Glas and Sandeman, and sent Batty and Allen to report upon it. They were strongly attracted by a movement which promised an accurate reproduction, even in minute details, of primitive Christianity, and devoted their energies to the task of leavening the Inghamite societies with Sandemanianism. In this they were only too successful. Ingham, in the hope of arresting this development, published "A Discourse on the Faith and Hope of the Gospel" (Leeds, 1763); but internal dissensions soon broke up the connection. Some of the societies became Glasite, some Methodist, some Baptist, and only about thirteen remained in the fellowship. It is believed that Ingham's life was shortened by grief at the collapse of the organization which he had built up. He died in 1772, and no second General Overseer was appointed.

The detailed accounts that have come down to us of the Inghamite societies are very fragmentary, and contain many references to dissensions, scandals, and secessions. Of those which were "set in order" in 1762 we find mention of Tadcaster, Leeds, Wibsey, Salterforth, Rothwell and Tosside, and probably Pateley Bridge in Yorkshire; Winewall, near Colne, and Wheatley, in Lancashire; and Kendal in Westmorland. At somewhat later dates we meet with Howden, Yorkshire, 1786; Nottingham, 1787; Todmorden, Yorkshire, 1792;

Bulwell, Nottingham, 1804; Haslingden, Lancashire, 1805. The names also appear of Birks and Thinoaks, in Westmorland, the dates of which are not specified, but which, as well as Pateley Bridge, were extinct before 1813.

About the middle of 1813 correspondence took place between elders of the Daleite and Inghamite societies with a view to intercommunion. It was made evident that there was now no doctrinal divergence, and but little difference in usages. Both were Calvinistic, both held the theory of Imputation, and both repudiated Antinomianism. The Daleites were jealous lest the yearly conference of the Inghamites should in any way infringe on the independence of the local societies. The Inghamites wished to be assured that their Scottish brethen (1) did not "allow of what some call innocent amusements," (2) did not consider a second marriage to disqualify for office-bearing, (3) did not forbid sharing a common meal with an excommunicate person, (4) did not forbid reinstatement of an erring member after a second exclusion, (5) did not allow eating of blood and things strangled, and desired clearer definition of the terms used respecting the Trinity. On these points they received satisfaction; and both agreed that "Occasional communion" with persons outside their own societies was unwarrantable. The only matter about which there seems to have been any disagreement was whether the sacraments could be duly administered in the absence of an elder, and on this mutual tolerance was found practicable. Accordingly a formal union was concluded in February, 1814.

The union comprised fifteen Daleite societies with 512 members, and thirteen Inghamite with 252 members, or a total of twenty-eight societies with 764 members. The largest societies were those at Glasgow, 185, Paisley, eighty-four, and Wheatley, fifty-six; while six or eight of the societies had less than ten

members each, and five or six were destitute of elders.

In reading the correspondence which led up to this union, one is unpleasantly struck with a note of spiritual pride on the part of some of the writers, as if they or the societies which they represented were the sole depositories of the unadulterated gospel. One writes of "these perilous times, when men are lovers of themselves, proud blasphemers, etc. When the true faith shall scarcely be found on the earth; times in which the falsely professing Church of Christ and the world appear to be fitting themselves by their wickedness for their final destruction." "God has reserved to himself a people who, influenced by His fear, refuse to bow down to the great and fashionable idols of this generation, Universal Charity and Infidelity." Another writes—"This country is of late very religious; but I am sorry to say of the imperfect kind. A perverted gospel is worse than no profession."

So far as we have been able to discover there are now not more than eight Daleite or Inghamite congregations on this side of the Atlantic. There is said to be an offshoot of the body in Canada; and according to Hastings' "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," the total number of adherents on both sides the ocean is about 2000. This is probably a liberal estimate.

## A Whip for an Ape

IN Rev. W. Pierce's "Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts" is a valuable Bibliography, showing the exact order and proximate dates of those celebrated Satires, and of the various rejoinders which they elicited. From this it appears that the "Epistle," and the "Epitome," had been in circulation for some months when Bishop Cooper put forth his ponderous "Admonition to the people of England," to which Martin promptly replied in "The Minerals" and "Hay any Work for Cooper." These the anti-puritan party sought to counter by enlisting the services of John Lyly and Thomas Nash, who in May 1589 produced the scurrilous "Mar-Martin," which was reprinted in C.H.T. Trans. V. 357. The Latin "Anti-martinus," followed about six weeks later. Within the same month Martin junior put forth the "Theses," and Martin senior the "Just Censure and Reproof." Early in August appeared the Anti-puritan "Countercuffe," commonly ascribed to Nash. The last of the Marprelate Tracts, the "Protestation," was printed in September; and early in October a rhymster who, whatever his faults, was not destitute of wit, published "A Whip for an Ape." This is probably to be accredited to Lyly. All the other Anti-Martinist publications, such as Pasquill's Return and Apology; Martin's Month's Mind; Pap with a Hatchet; An Almond for a Parrot; the Mirror for Martinists, etc., are of later date; but mostly in 1589-90.

A | WHIP FOR AN APE: | *or* | MARTIN DISPLAIED |

*Ordo Sacerdotum fatuo turbatur et omni,*
*Labitur et passim Religionis honos.*

Since reason, (Martin), cannot stay thy pen,
We'il see what rime will doo : have at thee then.

---

A Dizard late skipt out upon our stage ;
But in a sacke, that no man might him see :
And though we know not yet the paltrie page,
Himselfe hath *Martin* made his name to bee.
A proper name, and for his feates most fit ;
The only thing wherein he hath show'd wit.

Who knoweth not that Apes men *Martin's* call ;
Which beast this baggage seemes as t'were himselfe :
So as both nature, nurture, name and all,
Of that's expressed in this apish elfe ;
Which Ile make good to *Martin* Mar-alls face
In three plaine poynts, and will not bate an ace.

For first the Ape delights with moppes and mowes,
And mocketh Prince and peasants all alike ;
This jesting jacke that no good manner knowes
With his Asse heeles presumes all States to strike.
Whose scoffes so stinking in each nose doth smell,
As all mouthes saie of doll's he bears the bell.

Sometimes his choppes doo walke in poyntes too hie,
Wherein the ape himself a woodcock tries :
Sometimes with floutes he drawes his mouth awrie,
And swears by his ten bones, and falslie lies.
Wherefore be what he will I do not passe,
He is the paltriest Ape that ever was.

Such fleering, leering, jarring fooles bopeepe ;
Such hahaes, teehees, weehees, wild colts play ;
Such sohoes, whoopes, and hallowes, hold and keepe ;
Such rangings, ragings, revelings, roysters ray,
With so foule mouth, and knave at every catch,
Tis some knaves neast did surely *Martin* hatch.

Now out he runnes with Cuckowe, king of May,
Then in he leapes with a wild Morrice daunce ;
Now strikes he up Dame *Lawsons* lustie lay ;
Then comes Sir *Jeffries* ale tub tapde by chaunce :
Which makes me gesse, (and I can shrewdly smell)
He loves both t'one and tother passing well.

Then straight as though he were distracted quite
He chafeth like a cutpurse layd in warde ;
And rudely railes with all his maine and might,
Against both Knights and Lords without regarde :
So as *Bridewell* must tame his drunken fits,
And *Bedlem* helpe to bring him to his wits.

But *Martin*, why in matters of such waight
Doest thou thus play the Dame and dancing foole :
O sir, (quoth he) this is a pleasant baite
For men of sortes to traine them to my schoole.
Ye noble States how can you like hereof,
A shamelesse Ape at your sage heads should scoffe ?

Good Noddie now leave scribling in such matters,
They are no tooles for fooles to tend unto ;
Wise men regard not what mad monckies patters ;
T'were trim a beast should teach men what to do.
Now Tarleton's dead the Consort lackes a vice :
For knave and foole thou maist bear pricke and price.

The sacred sect and perfect pure precise,
Whose cause must be by Scoggins rests maintainde,
Ye shewe although that purple Apes disguise
Yet Apes are still, and so must be disdainde.
For though your Lyons lookes weake eyes escapes,
Your babling bookes bewraies you all for Apes.

The next poynt is, Apes use to tosse and teare,
What once their fidling fingers fasten on ;
And clime aloft and cast downe everywhere,

And never staies till all that stands be gone.
Now whether this in *Martin* be not true,
You wiser heads marke here what doth ensue.

What is it not that Martin doth not rent:
Cappes, Tippets, Gownes, blacke Chiners, Rochets White;
Communion bookes, and Homelies, yea so bent
To teare, as womens wimples feele his spite.
Thus tearing all, as all Apes use to doo,
He tears withal the Church of Christ in two.

Marke now what things he means to tumble downe,
For to this poynt to looke is worth the while,
In one that makes no choyce 'twixt Cap and Crowne.
Cathedrall Churches he would faine untile,
And snatch up Bishops lands, and catch away
All gaine of learning for his prowling pray.

And thinke you not he will pull downe at length
As well the top from tower, as cocke from steeple?
And when his head hath gotten some more strength,
To play with Prince as now he doth with people?
Yes, he that now saith, Why should Bishops bee?
Will next crie out, Why kings: The Saints are free.

The *Germaine* Boores with Clergie men began,
But never left till Prince and Peeres were dead:
*Jacke Leydon* was a holie-zealous man,
But ceast not till the Crowne was on his head.
And *Martins* mate *Jack Strawe* would alwaies sing
The Clergies faults, but sought to kill the King.

Oh that quoth *Martin* chwere a Noble man!
Avaunt vile villaine: tis not for such swads,
And of the Counsell too; Marke Princes then:
These roomes are raught at by these lustie lads,
For Apes must climbe, and never stay their wit,
Until on top of highest hilles they sit.

What meane they els, in every towne to crave
Their Priest and King like Christ himselfe to be:
And for one Pope ten thousand Popes to have,
And to controll the highest he or she!
Aske *Scotland* that, whose king so long they crost,
As he was like his kingdome to have lost.

Beware ye States and Nobles of this land
The Clergie is but one of these men's buts:
The Ape at last on masters necke will stand;
Then gegge betimes these gaping greedie guts,
Least that too soone, and then too late ye feele,
He strikes at head that first began with heele.

The third tricke is, what Apes by flattering waies
Cannot come by, with biting they will snatch:
Our *Martin* makes no bones, but plainlie saies
Their fists shall walke, they will both bite and scratch.
He'll make their hearts to ake, and will not faile
Where pen cannot, their penknife shall prevail.

But this is false, he saith he did but mocke:
A foole he was that so his words did scan.
He only meant with pen their pates to knocke:
A knave he is that so turnes cat in pan.
But Martin sweare and stare as deep as hell,
Thy sprite thy spite and mischevous mind doth tell.

The thing that neither Pope with Booke nor Bull
Nor *Spanish* king with ships could do without,
Our *Martins* here at home will worke at full:
If Prince curb not betimes that rabble rout,
That is, destroy both Church and State, and all;
For if t'one faile, the other needes must fall.

Thou *England* then whom God hath made so glad
Through Gospels grace and Princes prudent raigne
Take heede lest thou at last be made as sad

Through *Martins* makebates marring, to thy paine ;
For he marres all, and maketh naught, nor will,
Save lies and strife, and workes for *Englands* ill.

And ye grave men that answere *Martins* mowes,
He mockes the more, and you in vaine loose times,
Leaves Apes to dogges to baite, their skins to crowes.
And let old *Lanam* lash him with his rimes
The beast is proud when men wey his enditings,
Let his worke go the waie of all wast writings.

Now *Martin*, you that say you will spawne out
Your broyling brattes in every towne to dwell,
Wee will provide in each place for your route
A bell and whipp, that Apes do love so well.
And if ye skippe and will not wey the checke,
We'll have a springe and catch you by the necke.

And so adieu Mad *Martin* Marre the land,
Leave off thy worke, and more worke, hear'st thou me :
The worke's nought worth, take better worke in hand,
Thou marrst thy worke, and thy worke will marre thee.
Worke not a anewe, least it doth worke thy wracke,
And thou make worke for him that worke doth lacke.

And this I warne thee Martins monckies face,
Take heed of me, my rime doth charm thee bad :
I am a rimer of the Irish race,
And have alreadie rimed thee staring mad.
But if thou ceasest not thy bald jests still to spread,
Ile never leave, till I have rimde thee dead.

FINIS

[Except the title and mottoes, the whole is in Black Letter. There was a second impression, with title "Rhythms against Martin Mar Prelate," in other respects identical. So far as we can learn there is no later reprint.—ED.]

## Congregational Benefactors to the Deaf

Contributed by Selwyn Oxley, Esq., Secretary of the Guild of St. John of Beverley.

[This Guild was founded for the teaching and otherwise assisting the deaf, especially deaf mutes. Its title was taken from an English saint of the seventh century, the founder of Beverley Minster, who is said to have received many remarkable answers to prayer, including the enabling of a dumb man to speak.—Ed.]

### Introductory

AS a Church of England lay-worker for the deaf, I feel that much may be done for the cause we all have at heart—the cause of Christian Unity—along indirect lines, it may be, but none the less effectively, by fuller knowledge of each other's efforts in the same fields of beneficent enterprise. As a student of the history of the deaf, I have been led to discover or to recognize in this work many links in common between our two branches of the Universal Church; and it is these links that form the main theme of this paper.

The cord which binds us together is a threefold one, and each part of it is of special significance. The three men whose careers are to engage us were not only great benefactors to the deaf, but also outstanding figures in the history of Christian philanthrophy, for whom any Church might whole-heartedly thank God.

These three worthies are:

1. The Rev. John Townsend (1757-1826);

2. The Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, U.S.A. (1787-1851);
3. The Rev. T. Arnold (1816-1897);

and I propose very briefly to survey the work each did for our cause.

## 1. THE REV. JOHN TOWNSEND.

John Townsend was born at Whitechapel in 1757, and educated at Christ's Hospital; entering the ministry as pastor of the Independent Church at Kingston-on-Thames, June 1st, 1781. In 1784 he removed to the Jamaica Road Chapel, Bermondsey, where his life-work was done, and where he remained until his death in 1826.

His work for education alone, as the founder of what is now Caterham School, is enough to render his name memorable. To us, however, who know and love the deaf, an additional reason is manifest; for it is due to his persistent energy that the first public "Asylum and Manufactory" for the deaf in this country was established in Grange Road, Bermondsey, on November 14th, 1792.

It is an interesting fact that it was through a certain Mrs. Creasy, a member of his congregation—whose deaf son had been educated privately by Mr. Braidwood at Grove House, Mare Street, Hackney—that Mr. Townsend's interest was aroused on behalf of the deaf. Mr. Braidwood's school was one of the first two private academies for the deaf—the other being that of Mr. Henry Baker, son-in-law of Daniel Defoe—to be established in this country. Mr. Braidwood's fees being prohibitive, Mrs. Creasy approached her pastor with a view to his taking up the subject.

Some years previously George III. had subscribed £105 to an abortive effort to found a public institution for the deaf; and, on hearing that Mrs. Creasy had had to pay no less than £1,500 for the education of her son, Mr. Townsend felt that something ought to be done.

His preliminary inquiries confirmed this view; for very soon he had a list of twenty families with 155 children, of whom seventy-eight were totally deaf and doomed, if nothing were done, to grow up totally illiterate. The matter thus proving important and urgent, he decided, with Mrs. Creasy, that it was practicable and necessary to found an institution for the deaf children of the poor.

The first subscriptions were received on Sunday, June 1st, 1792: three friends contributing a guinea apiece, to which Mr. Townsend added a fourth. Mr. Thornton, a banker, on being asked to receive the money, thought the scheme would fail for want of sufficient pupils, since he did not know of any cases himself. However, the lady of the committee (probably Mrs. Creasy) told him that she knew of several, so he consented to receive subscriptions. Prospectuses were sent to the *The Times* and *The Morning Chronicle*, which brought in many applications and an offer from Dr. Joseph Watson, a nephew of Braidwood, to be the tutor. Mr. Townsend took a tour to visit his brother at Ramsgate, and distributed papers about the new school as he went. He also about this time called on the Rev. Henry Cox Mason, the Vicar of Bermondsey, who, on being convinced of the need for the proposed school, became one of his most enthusiastic fellow-workers, and helped on the committee until his death in 1804; in fact, the strong friendship between the brother ministers is a telling example of one way in which we may unite in the work of the Church as brethren.

At the first meeting of the school subscribers, in August, 1792, Mr. Cox Mason was secretary and Mr. Thornton treasurer. The first election took place on November 14th, in the same year, when four children were admitted, and by the end of that year two more were added. In 1804 Mr. Cox Mason died, and in 1809 the school was moved to Old Kent Road, the foundation stone of the new building having been laid by

H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester in 1807. In the collection of funds both energy and enterprise were shown. Collections were made in various churches and chapels, a deaf boy repeating the Lord's Prayer on these occasions, thus leading to the discovery of a large number of these handicapped persons. Mr. Cox Mason and Mr. Townsend together preached all over the south of England. At Bristol, for example, Mr. Townsend received £44 on behalf of the school, and on another occasion a lady was so much moved that she put her trinkets in the plate. At Romsey a party of players postponed their performance when they heard of his sermon, attended the service and contributed to the collection. In 1809 he interested the Bishop of Norwich and obtained his hearty co-operation, and at Bury St. Edmunds received £150 in one day, whilst from a tour in Kent he received over £600.

Some extracts from his diary may be of interest. In 1821, though unwell, he went by coach to the school election on January 10th, and on the 12th he writes that he " rose with less pain and difficulty in breathing, and went to the Bank to receive dividends for the Deaf and Dumb."

On April 16th he records that he " went to the Missionary Society (i.e. the London Missionary Society, which he did much towards founding) 11 a.m., and to the Audit of Deaf and Dumb at 1."

Later in 1821, we read that though still ill, he is unable to absent himself from the school election, and is " thankful to see how wonderfully God has prospered the Institution, which was begun with three names as Annual Subscribers and now has nearly 8,000 on the books. Some of the candidates had more than 5,000 votes " !

In 1822 he visited Ireland, where he had heard of over 3,000 deaf and dumb children.

In 1810 he met Dr. Jenner, of vaccination fame, at breakfast at Cheltenham, and the doctor gave him

two guineas for the deaf, and another member of the party gave one guinea.

In 1796 Bishop S. Horsley, of Rochester, preached on behalf of the school, and mentioned that there were twenty pupils, but that fifty more were awaiting admission whom the slender finances of the Society would not permit to be received.

Mr. Townsend died in his sixty-ninth year, February 7th, 1826, and was interred in Bunhill Fields.

There is a bust to his memory in Jamaica Road Chapel vestry, also a tablet on the chapel wall; and a marble bust of him is to be seen at the Royal School for the Deaf at Margate, the magnificent development of the school begun on so modest a scale in 1792.

In taking leave of this good man, it may be mentioned that many of his MSS. are extant in a book that is kept in a safe at the Jamaica Road Chapel, which book we hope to have photographed by one of the deaf pupils of the present-day school. In addition, there is much valuable literary matter connected with Townsend and the Asylum (as it used to be called) in the care of Mr. John Frowde, the energetic librarian at Bermondsey Public Library. All this historical material is well worth the attention of our Society; among the items of special interest being a sermon printed at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in 1809, which had been preached at Ebley Congregational Chapel, Stroud, Gloucestershire; and a Spanish New Testament printed under the superintendence of Mr. Powell at the school-manufactory in 1812.

We are indebted to our valued friend, the Rev. W. Raper, Church of England Chaplain to the Deaf of S.E. London and an ardent disciple of Mr. Townsend, for nearly the whole of the facts recited.

In January of the current year there was presented in the Inner Temple Hall, by the "Time and Talents Guild," a series of tableaux of old Bermondsey. One of the scenes introduced Mrs. Creasy and her son,

together with Messrs. Townsend and Cox Mason; these latter being personated by the present minister of Jamaica Row, Rev. J. Rofe, and his brother.

## 2. THE REV. T. H. GALLAUDET.

Turning to the second great Congregationalist who helped our work, we observe that his influence was predominant in the New World of America, not only as the pioneer of work for or among the deaf on that continent, but also of all organized philanthropic work whatsoever.

Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet was born in Philadelphia on December 10th, 1787, being the eldest of a family of twelve. He never was at all robust, though precocious and very studious in disposition. In his thirteenth year his father moved to Hartford, Connecticut, which removal had an important bearing on his after life. Having completed his school education at Hartford Grammar School, he entered the sophomore class at Yale in the autumn of 1802, and during his stay there won considerable distinction. The MS. is still in existence of an address that he gave at the close of his college career; he being one of six in a class of forty-two to graduate with the honours of an oration; the Rev. G. Spring, D.D., the eminent New York divine, was the valedictarian. He then in 1805 took up the study of law in the office of the Hon. Chauncey Goodrich, of Hartford, his work herein, as in everything that he undertook, being methodical and accurate, and he showed the greatest promise. The state of his health, however, precluded his continuance in this career, and in 1806 he accepted a tutorship in Yale College. Little is recorded of his life at that time, though several entries in his diaries and certain incidents that we have on record prove that his religious life, hitherto dormant, was slowly but none the less surely developing; still, he suffered much from periods of sceptism and

depression, which gave him many an anxious hour before he finally decided for Christ. On one occasion he had been carried away by the hilarity of some companions and had taken too much wine ; but his mortification afterwards was so great that he confessed his sin publicly to the officers of the Congregational Church at Hartford, where his father attended and which he himself hoped soon to join, the result being that he had become a total abstainer long before the temperance movement proper was inaugurated.

Another incident that made a deep and lasting impression on his mind was the announcement of the drowning of a companion while Gallaudet was attending a public dance or assembly of Hartford inhabitants, a form of gaiety which greatly attracted him. At first he appealed to the bearers of the news not to tell the ladies for fear of breaking up the dance ; but the next moment his conscience so smote him that presently he hurried away from the gathering, and was never seen at a dance again. From that time, too, he was a strenuous opponent to dancing generally.

His health still being precarious in 1810, he felt he must take up outdoor work of some kind, and consequently became a traveller in Kentucky and Ohio for a New York firm, which involved his riding everywhere on horseback. Although more of a scholar than a business man, his business faculties were excellent and served him well. Religion, however, eventually claimed him for her own, and he decided to train for the ministry, though it was not until after this, as we learn from his private diary, that, on October 11th, 1812, he " made a public profession of his faith in Christ and was admitted a member of the first Congregational Church in Hartford, the Rev. Nathan Strong being Pastor thereof." His health continued to give anxiety, but his reputation for scholarship and his success as a preacher grew, with the result that he received several flattering invitations to the Pastorate, as, for example,

at North Parish, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. These he felt unable to accept, owing to his poor health. In fact, so easily did he appear to live during 1814-15 that at least one fellow-student took him to task for his supposed idleness.

The real truth, however, was far otherwise; for this "under-sized invalid," with eyes and lungs both weak and who could devote but little time to study, was ready to spring joyfully to his life's work when plainly called to it; for in that weak body dwelt a spirit great and strong enough to make him practically the pioneer, if not the actual founder, of all systematic philanthropic work in America.

One of his father's nearest neighbours was a Dr. Cogswell, who had a lovely girl of nine on whom the blight of total deafness had fallen, as the result of a severe attack of meningitis when she was but four years old. Loss of speech followed, and, although the parents did what they could to develop her education, with some slight success, they were none the less severely handicapped in their ignorance of the proper way to approach this problem. During a vacation Thomas Gallaudet's attention was attracted to this girl when meeting her in her father's garden at play with her younger sisters and brothers. Even on that occasion he was able to teach her to speak a word or two, and it was from this time that the practical interest in the deaf was awakened and led him to study literature on the subject. The result was that the child slowly acquired language from him and from her first teacher, the poetess Lydia Sigourney, then Miss Hunter. Dr. Cogswell's interest becoming active, he began to hope that a school for the deaf on the lines of that established by Mr. John Townsend in London might be founded in Hartford itself; and the intimacy between Gallaudet and the Cogswells presently raised these hopes into practical schemes for their realization—the medium thereof being this young clerical friend of

the family. Thus it was that at Dr. Cogswell's invitation, on April 13th, 1815, a meeting was held at his house to consider what could be done in the matter. The result, after prayerful deliberation, was a decision to send some suitable person to Europe to look into the question of educating the deaf, and to acquire the art of it. Dr. Cogswell and a Mr. Woodbridge were appointed a committee to select the man and to meet expenses. So much interest was aroused in the project that they were able to raise the amount needed in a single day, and Gallaudet was their choice. After considering the proposition for a week, his innate modesty holding him back, he felt it his duty to accept this distinct call from God to definite work on April 20th, 1815; and, after visiting the blind-deaf-mute girl, Julia Brace, with Dr. Cogswell, he set sail from New York on the *Mexico*, burden 300 tons, for Liverpool on May 25th, among the passengers being Washington Irving. He landed exactly a month later, and, after seeing a small school for the deaf at Birmingham (started 1812), he reached London on July 5th, and presented himself with suitable letters of introduction at the Old Kent Road institution, fully expecting a warm and cordial welcome. How different was the reality! For, owing to the fact that the teaching of the deaf had been for two generations the monopoly of one family (the Braidwoods), he was unable to make any progress whatever. So disgraceful a monopoly was this that at the time of which we are speaking all efforts to start a school for the deaf in Ireland were frustrated, and another not too satisfactory member of the Braidwood family was in America, seeking to establish a similar state of things there.

Gallaudet actually met and conversed with Mr. John Townsend, who no doubt did what he could to gain him a fair hearing, as did other members of the committee; but, beyond his being introduced to Dr. Watson, nothing was done. Dr. Watson, himself a member

of the monopolizing family, made every possible excuse to delay and complicate the negotiations, and did his utmost to bind Gallaudet down under an agreement for a term of years; he also tried to induce him to join forces with the Braidwood then in America. He kindly offered to allow Gallaudet to go over the school, if he wished, as an ordinary visitor; but, under the circumstances, Gallaudet felt obliged to decline the offer.

Thus baffled in London, Gallaudet turned his attention to Scotland, and, after a formal intimation to the Old Kent Road committee that he was unable to accept their terms, he reached Edinburgh in September of the same year. Here again he found himself confronted by the monopoly of the Braidwood family, Mr. Kinniburgh being under bond not to reveal the secret method for seven years, of which only four had expired—a situation which we believe went much against Mr. Kinniburgh's natural benevolence.

Thus, to our lasting disgrace as a nation, was lost to us for ever a unique opportunity of forwarding God's work for the world—a loss which we shall never cease to regret. The immediate result was that Gallaudet, after studying several books on the History of the Deaf, sought what he required in France.

Arriving in Paris on March 9th, 1816, within three days he was cordially welcomed by the Abbé Sicard, head of the Royal School for the Deaf, who offered him every possible facility for the objects he had in view, even permitting him to have private lessons from his distinguished pupil and assistant, Massieu. For two months this training went forward, and on May 20th another deaf man—Laurent Clerc—who had some knowledge of teaching, offered to accompany him back to America. Gallaudet, as may be imagined, was most grateful, and lost no time in asking for Sicard's consent to the offer, which he obtained on May 27th. Under the circumstances he felt justified in binding Clerc to a not disadvantageous three years' agreement at a handsome

salary, with the option of returning to France at the end of the three years. Three weeks later Gallaudet sailed homeward, leaving Havre on June 18th. During his stay he had preached a series of sermons at the Chapel of the Oratoire, and otherwise had made good general use of his spare time. These sermons were published in 1818.

The voyage was a protracted one, but the time was by no means wasted, for he improved himself in instructional methods and also taught his companion English. He reached New York on August 9th and Hartford a few days later, where general interest was aroused. For it must be remembered that in 1816 there was no public benevolent institution of any sort in America, saving a small hospital for the insane in Virginia.

Those at home had not been idle, for they had secured an Act of Incorporation for the new institution from the Legislature of Connecticut, May, 1816, and raised a large sum of money by subscription.

In October, 1816, the Connecticut Legislature granted the sum of 5,000 dollars, which is believed to be the first appropriation of public money ever made for any charitable institution in the history of America. Gallaudet went here, there and everywhere—to New York, Boston, Albany, Philadelphia—promoting this cause, with the result that before the institution was opened he raised upwards of 17,000 dollars.

The presence of an educated deaf Frenchman contributed very largely to the success of these efforts—the exhibition of realized possibilities being an adroit move on Gallaudet's part. Nevertheless, he was subjected to much of the usual annoyance which falls to the lot of the pioneer.

In February, 1817, a solemn service on behalf of the success of the institution was held, and it was on April 1st—a date deserving to be commemorated as the birthday of organized philanthropic effort in America—that Gallaudet's heart was made glad by the actual opening of the school.

Here for thirteen years, under great difficulties and on a very small salary for work of the most exacting character, he laboured as its first principal, until ill health compelled his retirement in 1830. In the meantime, he had contracted a most romantic and happy marriage with one of his former pupils, a Miss Sophia Fowler, in 1821.

During this time he took keen interest in other affairs, notably mission work in Africa, and subsequently he received many important invitations, as, for example, to inaugurate the education of the blind in Washington, to take professors' chairs in several colleges, and to inaugurate a professorship of the Philosophy of Education in New York University. He declined all these offers, and spent his time in preparing books for young people and in conducting an interesting and important correspondence with the King of Siam. Later he took a great interest in the insane, and in 1838 was invited to take the post of Chaplain for the insane at the Retreat, Hartford, which he accepted, and began his duties on July 15th, 1838. He also during these years started and conducted a Home School in this place, in which his children and those of his neighbours could be educated.

In the summer of 1851, he was seized with severe dysentery, and died in late August, mourned by a multitude of deaf and other friends. His eldest son, the Rev. T. Gallaudet, succeeded to his work for the deaf, and subsequently became Rector of St. Ann's Church for the deaf in New York, and to this day members of the family continue in this necessary, but not yet sufficiently known work, which the Congregational Church, as we hope we have proved, has played so important a part in propagating.*

*(To be Continued.)*

* For the greater part of our information on this good man we are indebted to the biography written by his son, E. M. Gallaudet and published by Henry Holt & Co., New York.

## Edward Winslow

(*Continued from p.* 143.)

WINSLOW'S second term of office was marked by another constitutional advance. Various resolutions had been passed, various decisions had been given ; he now gathered them up, and codified them into a little body of law, prefixing an account of the settlement of the colony. The legality of these proceedings was very questionable, and many people began to wonder how far the laws of England held, how far they could be modified locally, whether any appeal lay to England, whether any royal governor could come and override these petty jurisdictions.

Many ministers came from England, all of them Puritans, and objecting to episcopal rule. They had, however, no clear ideal of church government, and certainly were not imbued with the principles of Smyth or Robinson, of Harrison or Browne. Despite minor differences they worked out substantially alike. Critical enquiries came from Puritans in England as to what was taking place on the Bay ; replies were sent by Davenport of New Haven and Richard Mather of Dorchester, in 1639. The gist of them was that in each church the officers held all the initiative, and that each church was all but independent of the others. What was left obscure was that the magistrates were in practice the tools of the ministers, and that the laws were used to enforce uniformity. The singularity of the position is accentuated by two curious incidents on opposite sides. Three women were charged at the Salem Quarterly Court with denying infant baptism ; they were admonished by the church, and to avoid further trouble, they too emigrated, settling on Long Island. But on the other hand, the Puritans of Virginia having asked for faithful ministers to be sent, and three having gone south from Massachusetts, Governor Berkeley insisted on conformity to the episcopal system and the prayer-book, and so punished them that they returned to the Bay.

It was, therefore, with a clear understanding that the " New England way " was illegal according to English law, and was distasteful to most English Puritans, that the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Newhaven and Connecticut confederated, and Winslow was appointed one of the eight Commissioners. They refused to take in Rhode Island and Providence, and the

excluded settlers sent Williams home to guard their interests. In March, 1644, he procured a charter from the Parliamentary Commission which had succeeded to Charles' Commission for Plantations, and brought it back with an official letter to Massachusetts, commending his work among the Indians, and deploring their exclusive policy.

At this time Winslow was Governor of the Old Colony for a third time. It is to be noted that his policy was to decentralize and to promote new settlements. In his former terms the townships of Scituate, Duxbury, Marshfield and Taunton had been incorporated. This time Bridgewater was planted from Duxbury, and Nauset was recognized, an offshoot from Plymouth, presently to be known as Eastham. More interesting yet was to be the case of a daughter church of Weymouth, organized under Samuel Newman at Seekonk. The practical abilities of Winslow were more and more widely recognized. Since the Pequod War of 1637, self-defence had become important. And at the close of his third term of office as governor, he was appointed President of the Council of War. This indicates the confidence felt in him by the other colonies, and prepared the way for him to act for them on the wider field of Old England, where he spent the next nine years.

## 5. COLONIAL AGENT, COMMONWEALTH COMMISSIONER.

The errand on which Winslow was sent to England raised great constitutional questions. There were three separate cases, the first being Gorton's appeal home against his local banishments. The second arose at Scituate in the Old Colony. William Vassall was a charter-magistrate of Massachusetts, but found himself so out of touch with the predominant party that he removed hither. Hence he sent a petition to the General Courts of both colonies that they would abolish the new local peculiarities in civil and church estate, and would abide wholly by the laws of England. Winslow wrote to Winthrop in November, 1645, that in the Old Colony motion had been made " to allow and maintain full and free tolerance of religion to all men that would preserve the civil peace and submit unto government." The motion found much support, but Bradford actually refused to put it! The third case arose at Hingham in Massachusetts, on an issue concerning Winslow as president of the Council of War. The townsmen chose a captain, whom the magistrates of the colony disallowed. The town was firm, the magistrates arrested and fined the leaders repeatedly, and at last fined the minister. The town then forcibly resisted, and appealed home to the Parliament, setting forth local laws of 1641 and 1642 as repugnant to the laws of England Moreover, there were Baptists at Hingham, who were liable to banishment under a law of 1644. As the law was due to the activities

of Roger Williams, he published in London a discussion of the Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Conscience. And thus much attention was being given in England to the intolerance of Massachusetts.

The movements now coalesced, and seven prominent men presented a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts, asking for an extension of the franchise, for a wider door into the churches, and for leave to embody new churches according to the best reformation of England and Scotland. The petition closed with formal notice that were it rejected, application would be made to Parliament.

It is to be borne in mind that the civil constitution was most oligarchic. Massachusetts with a population of about 15,000, had only admitted 1,708 citizens in all, of whom many had emigrated in disgust. The Old Colony with about 3,000 people had only 230 voters. In Massachusetts the franchise was avowedly confined to church members, and the ministers now presented to the Court a bill requiring each church to send messengers to a Synod which should determine a uniform practice for all churches; in deference to the protests of the deputies, the call was softened into a request. This went out, specifying in particular the questions of baptism, church-membership, and an order of government and discipline. And because "Plimoth, Connecticott, and Newe Haven" were civilly confederated, the invitation was extended to the churches in those colonies also. For this kind of action there was the important precedent of the Long Parliament, which, to its own committee of ten lords and twenty commoners, had added a number of divines chosen by the Commons from all parts of the country. This Westminster Assembly had under skilful Scotch manipulation drafted a scheme of church government on Presbyterian lines, a directory for ordination, a confession of faith, and was considering two catechisms with a psalm-book. Parliament had adopted most of these, with amendments, and in March, 1646, had ordained that that system be put in operation. So Massachusetts had every reason to think that a uniform plan was in line with most Puritan desires, though the probable New England plan was likely to differ widely from the Westminster plan.

It took months to overcome the opposition of Hingham, Salem, and Boston, but in September a fortnight's session was held, when a Committee was appointed to draft a plan of church government. One member was Ralph Partridge of Duxbury in the Old Colony; a second was Cotton, the antagonist of Roger Williams in the matter of persecution; and the third was Richard Mather, joint author of the Bay Psalm Book, author of a plan of government, a man whom Plymouth church had vainly tried to secure as pastor.

Even while the Synod was sitting, a shock was received by the General Court. Gorton and his friends had already laid complaint

about its action against him, before the Commissioners for Plantations, a board of six lords and twelve commoners appointed to supervise all the colonies. This board had already advised that all men should enjoy their liberty of conscience, and it now furnished Gorton and his friends with an order to Massachusetts to allow them free passage, and to send answer to their complaints.

It was in this situation that Winslow was asked by Massachusetts to go to England and watch the interests of the majority party, which was determined upon uniformity and intolerance. There is nothing to show that he felt any reluctance in accepting the invitation. One of the appellants bluntly said that his object was to uphold the church franchise. And it is regrettable that all the confederated colonies joined in defraying his expenses. Winslow was furnished with instructions, and after conference with the ministers, the magistrates agreed that no appeal to England was permissible; some appellants were arrested, their papers were confiscated, and others were fined. Yet, before the year was out, two appellants got away to England, as well as Winslow. He speedily published a case against Gorton under the title, "Hypocrisie Unmasked." It has an interesting supplement with anecdotes as to the church at Leyden which has become far better known than the main work. For while his earlier pamphlets had given an excellent and graphic account of the adventures at first settling in New England, this supplement told, for the first time, something about the earlier history of that group of emigrants to which Winslow himself had belonged, the church at Leyden.

The appellants had strong sympathizers on many sides; the brother of one of them was on the Commission for Plantations whose authority was defied by Massachusetts, the minister of Hingham was of the Presbyterian type and could confidently look to both Assembly and Parliament, while a third had a brother in the army, who in April, 1647, published a lively account of the amazing proceedings in Massachusetts. Winslow replied within six weeks, and tacitly admitted nearly all that was alleged. He apparently relied really upon a military revolution that favoured him. Since Parliament had agreed with the captive Charles to establish Presbyterianism for three years, and was ready to disband most of the army without paying its arrears, therefore the army seized Charles, marched on London and secured the expulsion of eleven leaders from parliament. With this transfer of power to the Independents, it was easy for Winslow to secure from the Commission for Plantations an acknowledgment that they would encourage appeals from the colonies, and that what they had done in Gorton's case was not a precedent to limit the local jurisdiction. Ten months later he was able to report that he had defeated the appeal of the petitioners from the Old Colony and Massachusetts.

Under these circumstances the Synod which reassembled in August, 1648, shelved the awkward questions of baptism and Church-membership, concentrating on government. The draft by Partridge of Duxbury was rejected, and much authority on matters of religion was given to the magistrates. With tact the doctrinal Confession of the Westminster Assembly was adopted, and the Synod dispersed. The Massachusetts Court approved the Platform of government. The records of the Old Colony do not state whether any action was taken there, and we can only note that its twelve churches had been represented at each session, that they are not known to have objected, and that they did in practice fall into line. They thus committed themselves to the propositions that the form of church government " is one, immutable, and prescribed in the word of God," " only congregational," " the ordinary power of government belonging only to the elders," " the magistrate is to see (that the) ministry be duely provided for," that members of the church could be " born in the same," that separation was unlawful and sinful, as also abstinence from the sacraments, that magistrates " have power to call a Synod," to punish " idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, venting corrupt and pernicious opinions that destroy the foundation, open contempt of the word preached, prophanation of the Lord's day, disturbing the peaceable administration and exercise of the worship and holy things of God, and the like," and to coerce any church that " shall grow schismaticall, rending itself from the communion of other churches."

Long before the Massachusetts Court had approved this Platform, it had taken other action as here indicated. At Seekonk in the Old Colony, John Clarke and Mark Luther had baptized thirteen or fourteen people, as Roger Williams wrote to Winthrop, in 1649. The Court promptly sent to the Old Colony and begged that steps be taken to suppress errors. The magistrates did prosecute, and this place was again found to give no room to those who offended Massachusetts. In this action the ministers of the Old Colony were involved, as well as the whole church of Taunton, formed in 1640 by immigrants from the west of England.

Winslow in England was putting up another ambiguous record. That same year he published " The Glorious Progress of the Gospel," emphasizing the fine work done among the Indians by the Independents, especially since 1646 by John Eliot. This was very politic, for by this time the Independents had seized power. But who would have guessed from one grudging line naming no man, that Roger Williams had been working among the Indians for years before, and that he actually had published two books on the matter in 1643 and 1645 ?

A fine result was that in July the Rump Parliament chartered the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and before long, under its president, William Steele (a Baptist

awyer who rose to be chancellor), funds were gathered from the universities, the parishes, the regiments, which secured an endowment of nearly £600 a year.

Winslow's activity before the Commission for the Colonies brought him into notice as an able man of business; and his support of the cause of missions gave a reputation in other quarters. President Steele wrote that, though he desired to return to his family, he was too valuable to be spared from England. Earnest of this was given by his appointment to the Committee for Compounding, and when this was recast in 1650 with larger functions, he was assigned a salary of £300, as much as Massachusetts had paid him for his four years' work on its behalf. That year he obtained leave to export munitions for the colonies; but next year he had to warn the Old Colony that the Commission for Plantations was awaiting an answer to its orders.

He bought a fine library belonging to Jenner, to augment the books of Harvard. His status as representative for the Confederated Colonies was recognized in that he was used by Parliament to circulate in New England a thousand copies of a pamphlet, telling of the "crowning mercy" at Worcester in 1651. Next year he arranged to supply the navy with timber and other materials previously obtained from the Baltic. In return he applied for confirmation of the ancient grant to the Old Colony of the strip fifteen miles on each side the Kennebec, where his brother had been the resident agent.

When the Nominated Parliament met in July, 1653, he became involved in another unpleasant matter. An old man named William Witter had settled at Lynn in Massachusetts. Since 1643 he had been a Baptist, and was in membership with the church at Newport in Rhode Island. As he was blind and unable to go thither, the church sent three brethren to visit him, John Clarke, the pastor, John Crandall and Obadiah Holmes, once of Didsbury. While holding service in his home on a Sunday, they were arrested, obliged to attend the Standing Order church worship in the afternoon, carried off to Boston, examined most irregularly. They were sentenced to fine or whipping; the fines of two were paid quietly by others, but Holmes was flogged.

The scandal outside Massachusetts was great.

Roger Williams appealed to the governor to grant toleration, in vain; Clarke published an account in England which compelled the minister of Lynn to reply. It is something to Winslow's credit that he did not intervene directly. His action was to put out an accurate reprint of the Cambridge Platform, superseding an unauthorized and inaccurate reprint; it will be remembered that this closes with a clear assertion of the magistrates' right to coerce. But behind the scenes he was leagued with Hazelrigge and others, seeking to thwart the confirmation of the charter which Clarke

had obtained for Rhode Island. This we learn from a letter by Roger Williams, who was staying with Sir Henry Vane, the erstwhile champion of liberty in Massachusetts.

With April, 1653, there had come a second military revolution, when Cromwell in person expelled the Rump of the Long Parliament, and with the advice of his officers appointed an interim Council of State, which on 1st July reduced the Committee on Indemnity to four members, dropping Winslow. Apparently he was not in favour with the grandees of the Army; while the Nominated Parliament sat, from July to December, he seems to have held no office; whereas in June he had been using influence with the Navy Commissioners to obtain the place of Clerk of the Check for one Langley. But his knowledge as to colonial affairs was used in October, when he was summoned to give evidence as to the relations between the Dutch and the natives of New England.

In December a new constitution was adopted, and Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector. A commission on compounding was set up, and on 25th January, 1654, Winslow was added to this, being made also, in June, a commissioner for sequestrations at £300 a year. These appointments betoken that he was recognized as a good man of business and figures. But whereas it has been said that he was entrusted by Cromwell with important posts, it must be noted that these were quite minor administrative offices, that his name never occurs in all Cromwell's letters; and that he was not made a member of the Commission for Trade and Plantations, though there is a trace of his being concerned in an arbitration between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The only other work he was offered was to value the ships seized and destroyed by the King of Denmark.

## 6. GOVERNOR OF A NEW COLONY?

The last chapter in Winslow's life is connected with a spirited foreign policy, and takes us to the West Indies.

Under papal grant and treaty with Portugal, Spain steadily claimed everything beyond 370 leagues west of Cape Verde. The first actual English settlement had been in Virginia, far from the Spanish towns; yet the Spanish had seriously considered stamping it out, and it was only on the evidence of John Clarke, afterwards pilot on the *Mayflower*, as to its not having any gold, that they decided to leave it alone as a harmless safety-valve. Since then the Bermudas and Bahamas had been claimed, nearer to Cuba, the headquarters of the Spanish Council of the Indies; and in 1625 there began systematic attempts at settlement in the lesser Antilles. The Spanish were stirred by these invasions, and cleared St. Christopher. When the displaced English went to Providence

Island, off the Mosquito coast, they followed them up, and rooted out the intruders by 1641.

To the general strife there was one marked exception: the coral island of Barbadoes, claimed by James for twenty years, was actually settled in 1625, and was never attacked. As the civil wars developed in England, the colonies were perturbed, and Barbadoes held by the crown, becoming a royalist stronghold, with fifty thousand inhabitants. But when the parliamentary forces won at home, the little island was easily brought to heel by the politic action of Ayscue, backed by a strong squadron. At one time Winslow was considered as a possible governor for it, but it came to be regarded in a rather new light. Instead of being valued solely for its sugar, it was converted almost into the first of the convict plantations. Men were sent to Barbadoes because they were a trouble at home, and because once on the island they could not easily get away. They were really military prisoners, some of them at hard labour, especially those from Ireland.

Hitherto there had been little attempt to work out a colonial policy, and view the Atlantic problems as a whole. There were isolated settlements, on islands or on mainland, with different types of government. With peace restored in England, the time arrived for a connected view to be taken, and for an overseas empire to be founded. Cromwell equipped two fleets which sailed with sealed orders; one under Blake, one under Penn, the vice-admiral. On this second fleet sailed Winslow.

From the beginning there were ill omens. The vice-admiral had actually offered this very year to carry the fleet over to Charles, being already involved in those intrigues which had the one happy result that as a reward his son was afterwards given a huge proprietary province between Maryland and the Jerseys, still bearing the name Pennsylvania. The land-general, Robert Venables, despite five years of good service in Ireland, was second-rate in ability, and is labelled by Carlyle as covetous and lazy. There were two veteran regiments, but there were also some new forces, levied out of the discontented classes who were good fighters, and whose absence would strengthen Cromwell's government.

Winslow was the chief of three Civil Commissioners, whose business would begin when the naval and military forces had succeeded, and there was a new territory to govern. For a new colonial policy seems to have been thought out. Spain had actual possession of vast territories, Mexico and Peru, with no definite boundaries, and she claimed everything. In practice she held islands in the Gulf of Mexico, and had established a strong fort at Saint Augustine in Florida as early as 1565; but had no settlement further north.

Cromwell now came to the conclusion that the mere harrying and raiding which had been frequent was futile. He decided to

make a deliberate capture of some of the Spanish islands in the West Indies, and fixed upon Hispaniola as the first objective. This was the second largest in the group, just east of Cuba, and had developed a flourishing sugar industry, worked by negro slaves imported from Africa to replace the natives who had died under the forced labour. If this became another of the British island colonies, a flourishing trade might be developed. And from Hispaniola it might be possible to reach out towards Cuba itself, where the Council of the Indies sat at Havana, and annex all the island-empire of Spain.

While these plans were concealed from the world at large, Winslow's commission to govern the expected conquest was made out on 12th December, and he, at least, must have had some knowledge of what was in view, even if his comprehension of the New World had not framed the scheme. His practical experience came out promptly. He knew the awful mortality among the first settlers at Plymouth, and the importance of Samuel Fuller the surgeon. So in January, apparently after the expedition had left Portsmouth, he wrote asking for an apothecary to be put aboard the *Little Charity*. A captain who for the last three years had been taking the new *Mayflower* to Boston, bearing supplies for Eliot's work among the Indians, and bringing back masts, received fresh orders. He had gone in January to Barbadoes, thence up to Boston. Here he contracted for provisions and arms to take down to the "Governor of Hispaniola," as it was hoped Winslow would be, when he could reach there.

Well out at sea, the orders were opened, and Penn knew whither he was dispatched. The sixty vessels sailed for Barbadoes, which was thronged with sturdy fighters transported thither to give peace to the Commonwealth. Five thousand of these were enlisted, making up the land forces to a creditable army. But it could hardly be esteemed experienced, or particularly attached to its general. So when Penn brought the fleet to San Domingo where Drake had landed, Venables shrank from repeating his exploit, and attacking the town direct. After some reconnoitring, the forces were put ashore sixty miles from the capital, and proceeded to march through the forests in a heat quite new to most of them. Falling into an ambuscade, they were panic-stricken and fled back to the shore and the fleet, infected with fever, and beat a shameful retreat aboard.

Pestilence raged through the ships, carrying off two hundred daily, and on 8th May Edward Winslow died, in the sixtieth year of his age. Had he lived to see Jamaica captured, he might have figured among the founders of two colonies. But it was his ill hap to pass away in the very wreck of the expedition, and it was their ill fate to lose the only man who had any experience of settlement and administration, and who could have fulfilled

Cromwell's hopes of bringing down settlers from New England to populate the island. Captain Webber, direct from Boston with supplies, was carried off too, and so dramatically the great Pilgrim Father and the last link with the *Mayflower* passed away together.

## 7. CHARACTER.

The career of Edward Winslow shows the possibilities of the yeoman class realized almost to the full. It reveals the powers latent in the English stock, trained for one or two generations in rural management, and proving equal to developing a new land, organizing local self-government, negotiating with rulers, administering a conquered province.

To estimate the man, we must measure him against men of his own time and origin and function. He has been compared with Bradford and Brewster; in so far as they were weaver and postmaster, while he was printer, the comparison is just. But their plans were petty, their horizon was parochial, they lived and died within a mile of Plymouth Rock. On the other hand, they did try to impress the fine tradition from John Robinson on the Colony, whereas Winslow became the willing agent of intolerance. And while he appreciated the openings for missionary work among the natives, and did no little to further them, he was not just in ignoring the pioneer work of Roger Williams; there seems grounds to suspect some personal feeling. His treatment of the natives was, however, creditable, even before Williams appeared on the scene. He displayed honesty, bravery, ability to negotiate. Though there was a century of Spanish tradition that natives were to be enslaved, he dealt with them as free, and as owners of the soil.

He was the only Pilgrim Father to publish anything beyond a sermon. His writings have two great merits, historical and practical. He gives an account of the last few years at Leyden, including the farewell address of Robinson: in 1622 a large part of the long Journal of the voyage, arrival, building of New Plymouth, and the relation of the early discoveries: in 1624 a further long account of subsequent proceedings, with a description of the country and of the natives. He also initiated public records, and drew up for them a historical preface, which seems quite overlooked in England. All this was done fifteen years before Bradford followed his example and began to compose his manuscript "History of Plimoth Plantation." And it must be plainly said that undue attention has been given to this later work, since its publication in 1856, which has given the very mistaken impression that the Old Colony was due to the Scrooby group. The only family from Scrooby at Plymouth was Brewster's; most from Scrooby and district were followers of Smyth; most who went to Plymouth were, like Winslow, later adherents of Robinson from many parts of England, of

which the coast from Yarmouth to Sandwich was predominant; and the whole Leyden element was swamped within twenty years by other immigrants into the Old Colony.

Many men can write history who cannot make it; but Winslow had vision and energy. He was one of the promoters of the emigration, a leading explorer, negotiator with the natives and new settlers; it was he who imported stores, developed trade, opened outposts far away, fostered new towns, advised the occupation of Massachusetts Bay, systematized the administration of the Old Colony, leagued it with the newer and greater, formally initiated the confederacy of New England, successfully ensured practical independence of England, whether king or parliament. He was the only colonial who won confidence at home; he was chosen to be the link between the tropical and the temperate settlements, economically the complements one of another. While narrow-minded statesmen at home were meditating Navigation laws in imitation of Spain to monopolize colonial trade, he was fostering intercolonial commerce. His untimely death stifled the project, or rather its legality, for by stealth it always went on. Not till 1920 was a treaty actually made to regulate that flow of exchange which he foresaw, and was beginning to develop.

Compare him with other colonial statesmen. The senior colony of Virginia produced nobody more important than a Wyatt; the stronger colony of Massachusetts had a Winthrop, educated at Cambridge and the Temple, but he achieved not so much as the man who at best had been at a provincial grammar school. The one man worth comparing is Sir Henry Vane, the younger. This man started with great advantages, son of a courtier, trained at Westminster and Oxford, on the embassies to Vienna, Leyden and Geneva. Winslow and Vane both emigrated to secure the free practice of their religion, they became governors of adjoining colonies in the same year; they took opposite sides on the question of granting the free practice of their religion to others. Winslow won, Vane lost, and, therefore, returned to fight the same battle at home. In the great questions of war and of the English constitution, Vane played a prominent part, while Winslow never was called upon even to express an opinion. But after the king's defeat and capture, the two men clashed once again on the question of toleration, when for the second time Winslow won the round. A third time their destinies were entwined, for the navy which bore out Winslow as governor-elect of Hispaniola, owed its splendid equipment to Vane as the chief commissioner. The contrast leaves the impression that if the Worcestershire farmer could have given his son the early advantages that the Essex knight gave to his, Winslow could have held his own on the wider stage. On the other hand, the man who for three years had been in contact with John Robinson, shows poorly beside the antagonist of Laud and of Baillie.

Yet there is more to say. Winslow in his last phase was commissioned to uphold the ideals of England against those of Spain. The exact cause of quarrel was that Spain would permit neither freedom of navigation and commerce, nor freedom of worship. Had he actually taken up duty as governor of Hispaniola, and become in natural sequence governor of all British possessions in those seas, he would have found himself once again, as in the days of Leyden, champion of liberty, on a field wider than Vane ever saw. It was ill fate that prevented him removing the one blot on his career, and rounding off his life-work as striving alike for feeedom of the seas, freedom of the individual, freedom of conscience.

## THE DESCENDANTS OF THE WINSLOWS.

Edward Winslow senior, of Droitwich and Kempsey, has descendants in both hemispheres bearing his name to-day. The children of Richard, his heir, at Kempsey, indeed died out, leaving no Winslows of his stock in England by 1720. But Governor Edward arranged a marriage for his son Josiah with Penelope Pelham of Bures, and it was in connection with this wedding that a portrait was painted in 1651, on a copy of which figures a coat-of-arms and a motto. If there ever was any authority for these, it was ignored at the Restoration, and the College of Arms disclaims any grant at all. The Winslows were not "esquires" or "gentlemen"; only yeomen at the best, and to say that Edward, "of old and honourable lineage, surrendered wealth and position and forsook his property near Droitwich," is to accumulate blunder upon blunder. What he did was to found a family. Josiah became governor in his turn; his son Isaac held many important posts in Massachusetts; his son John entered the army, took part in the attack on Cuba in 1740, and in the capture of Tonisbourg in Nova Scotia. Just after his death the quarrel between the colonies and the mother-country came to a head, and some of his children took each side. The soldiers sided with England, and from their stock are descended such men as Octavious Winslow, the Baptist D.D., with his brother, Forbes Benignus Winslow, a specialist in lunacy, whose work was extended by his son Forbes Winslow. There was also a Boston branch, senior to this. But it seems to have been outshone by the descendants of Edward's brothers, John, Kenelm and Josiah, which have ramified extensively in Massachusetts.

W. T. Whitley, LL.D.

## "The Lineage of Locusts"

AMONG the early Puritan tracts included in "Part of a Register" (1593) is one entitled "A View of Antichrist, his lawes and ceremonies, in our English Church Unreformed." It is believed to be the work of Anthony Gilby, and to have been printed in 1570: but no original copy exists. From this tract is taken, with some omissions and changes that are not improvements, the following undated Broadsheet. It was probably issued about 1640. The British Museum Pressmark is 669 f. 4. 21.

Heading:

L.H. The Pope seated, charged by a Unicorn which pushes off his crown.

R.H. The Pope erect holding a torch, three dwarfish figures worshipping him.

Come, come all you that are with Rome offended,
Come now and heare from whence the Pope descended.

THE LINEAGE OF LOCUSTS
OR
THE POPE'S PEDEGRE.

Beginning with his prime ancestor the Divell, plainely set forth, to be noted of all good | Christians and true Catholicks, for the avoiding of those subtill snares | continually layd for them by his insinuating Agents.

THE PEDEGREE.

L.H.
1. THE Divell begat darknesse.
2. And darkness begat ignorance.
3. And ignorance begat error and his brethren.
4. And error and his brethren begat free-will and selfe love.
5. And selfe love begat merits.
6. And merits begat forgetfulness of Gods Grace.
7. And forgetfulness of Gods Grace begat mistrust.
8. And mistrust begat satisfaction.
9. And satisfaction begat sacrifice of the Masse.

10. And sacrifice of the Masse begat Popish priest-hood.
11. And Popish priest-hood begat prayer for the dead.
12. And prayer for the dead begat sacriledge of soules.
13. And sacriledge of soules begat superstition.
14. And superstition begat hypocrisie the king.

*And these are foureteene Generations.*

1. AND hypocrisie the king begat lucre.
2. And lucre begat purgatory.
3. And purgatory begat foundation of irreligious houses.
4. And foundation of irreligious houses begat patrimonie of the Church.
5. And patrimonie of the Church begat mammon of iniquity.
6. And mammon of iniquity begat abundance.
7. And abundance begat crueltie.
8. And cruelty begat domination.
9. And domination begat pompe.
10. And pompe begat ambition.
11. And ambition begat intrusion into the Church right.
12. And intrusion into the Church right begat symonie.
13. And simonie begat universall superintendence.
14. And universall superintendence begat the Pope, the Cardinalls and all his brethren.

*And these are fourteen generations, in the transmigration of abomination.*

1. AND the Pope begat mysterie of iniquity.
2. And the mystery of iniquity begat divine sophistrie.
R.H. 3. And divine sophistrie begat rejection of the Scriptures.
4. And rejection of the Scriptures begat tyranny.
5. And tyranny begat murder of the Saints.
6. And murder of the Saints begat the despising of God.
7. And the despising of God begat dispensation.
8. And dispensation begat licence to sinne.
9. And licence to sinne begat abomination.
10. And abomination begat confusion.
11. And confusion begat travell in the spirit.
12. And travell in the spirit begat disputation.
13. And disputation begat matter to write of:

*By which writing the sonne of perdition Antichrist specified in so many places of scripture, was revealed.*

THE PROTESTANTS CONCLUSION.

The Pope, himselfe (the simple to beguile)
*Servum servorem Dei* doth instile,
The servant of God's servants, who (we finde)
To seeme his masters better is inclin'd.
Christ humble was, humility requiring,
The Pope is proud to honour still aspiring,
Christ was content to weare a crown of thornes,
But the Popes head a crowne of gold adornes,
A triple crowne which hardly him sufficeth,
But of his foule ambition what ariseth?
*Hunc capit infernus, quem deserit ordo supernus.*
Forsaken by the Quire supernall
Hee's taken by the friends infernall,
For let false Catholicks say what they can
Hee's neither God nor angell, nor a man,
But a prodigious beast, a monster fell,
With all his brood hatch'd or begot in hell,
And so I leave him.

## State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection

(*Continued from Vol. VIII ; p.* 146.)

(*XIV*) *A Prayer for all the Reformed Churches.*

[*This first appeared in the Service appointed for a Fast Day on June 5th*, 1698, "*to Implore the Blessing of Almighty God upon their Majesties' Forces by Sea and Land, and Success in the War now declared against the French King.*" *It recurs, with some variations, and lately with more or less abridgment, in most of the Fast Day Services from this date to the Peace of Utrecht.*]

O God, the Father of Mercies, who of thy great goodness hast united us into the mystical body of Christ (that is his Church), we as living members thereof, mourning with them that mourn and rejoycing with them that rejoyce, do now present our Supplications and Prayers at the throne of Grace in behalf of all the Reformed Churches ; beseeching thee to look down with an eye of mercy and pity upon the sad and mournful estate of such of them whom thou hast delivered over to the hands of superstitious and merciless men, [who have compell'd so many of them to defile themselves with their Idolatrous worship : stretch out thine arm against those deceitful and bloody men ;] suffer them not still to triumph over thy heritage. [How long, Lord, shall thine anger burn for ever ? How long wilt thou forget thy people that prayeth ? O let the cry of the blood of thy saints, and the sighing of the

prisoners, come before thee. Deliver thou those that are as sheep appointed for the slaughter. Hear us, O God, for thy mercy's sake, and for the honour of thy Great Name. Plead thy cause with them that blaspheme thy truth, and persecute thy people,] that so all men may say Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth. †Purge all thy churches from their dregs, and make them meet for a glorious deliverance; that so all the world may see the Salvation of our God, and that though he hides his face from his people for a season, yet he will not cast them off utterly. Grant that thy true Religion may so shine as to become the joy of the whole earth; and that all Antichristian Idolatry, Superstition, and cruelty being cast out of thy house, all that name the name of Christ may depart from iniquity, and walk worthy of their holy profession, that the kingdom of thy dear Son may come quickly; and that, all his enemies being made his footstool, he who is the Lord of lords and King of kings may reign to all the ends of the earth: to whom, with thee, O Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for evermore. Amen.

[*In Queen Anne's time the portions in brackets are omitted, and all from † is much altered and abridged.*]

# THE
# Congregational Historical Society

**(FOUNDED 1899).**

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*President:* Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D.

*Chairman:* Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., Litt.D.,
Miltona, Riley Avenue, St. Anne's-on-Sea.

*Treasurer:* H. A. Muddiman, Esq.,
79, The Avenue, Higham's Park, London, E. 4.

*Editorial Secretary:* Rev. T. G. Crippen,
The Library, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C. 4.

*General Secretary:* Rev. Wm. Pierce,
33, Handsworth Avenue, E. 4.

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(*c*) Ordinary Members paying an annual subscription of five shillings.

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# Congregational Historical Society

# Transactions

Vol. VIII. No. 5] [OCTOBER, 1922

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# EDITORIAL

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on May 10th, 1922; in the absence of Dr. Nightingale the chair was taken by Rev. W. Pierce.

The retiring officers were re-appointed; but the Editorial Secretary intimated his desire to be relieved of his responsibilities at an early date after the next issue of "Transactions." The appointment of his successor was referred to the Autumn Meeting.

* * * *

An instructive paper on "The Morisonian Controversy" was read by Rev. M. D. Kirkpatrick: to whom a hearty vote of thanks was accorded, with a request that the paper might be published in our forthcoming "Transactions."

* * * *

Since the commencement of the year our society has suffered the loss by death of both its former presidents. On January 16th, Rev. John Brown, D.D., formerly of Bedford, departed this life at the venerable age of ninety-two. His pastoral labours alone would have entitled him to honourable mention, but it is by the fruits of his Historical research that he will be best and longest remembered. His *Life of Bunyan* can never be superseded, and his History of *The Pilgrim Fathers* of *New England* has long been recognized as a standard work on both sides of the Atlantic. His Yale Lectures on *Puritan Preaching in England*, and his Congregational Lectures on *Apostolic Succession*, are of permanent value; and several minor works deserve respectful recognition. His interest in our Society was deep and lasting, and he rarely missed one of our meetings until he was disabled by infirmity.

* * * *

Sir John D. McClure, LL.D., Mus.D., presided at the earliest meetings of our society, but gave place to Dr. Brown in May, 1903. In 1891 he had undertaken the Head Mastership of Mill Hill School, which was then in a pitiable state of depression, the number of boys having declined from 180 (in 1880) to sixty-one. Under his management, at once vigorous and genial, it soon began to revive; in 1907, the boys numbered 260; and by the end of last year the total was little short of 300. Sir John died after a few days illness, on February 18th, in his sixty-third year.

## The Morisonian Controversy

DISSENT in Scotland has had other characteristics than dissent in England. In Scotland it has been ecclesiastical rather than theological. The religious struggles of its people have turned mainly on the polity of the Church, its constitution, government, rights; hardly ever on the doctrines it has professed and taught. "There are two Kings and two Kingdoms in Scotland," said Melville to the King, "There is Christ Jesus the King and His Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose Kingdom no King, or head, or lord, but a member." That was the idea that inspired Knox and Henderson and their associates. The principle expressed in the motto that gleamed on the blue banner of the Covenant, upheld by the men who fought at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge and died on the Moors of the West, or in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, was ecclesiastical. It was for Ecclesiastical freedom and right the Erskines contended, and in vindication of the same the Secession and Relief Churches were formed. The Free Church of Scotland is built on a political principle, and has no testimony to bear which transcends the sphere of Ecclesiastical theory and action. There has always been intenser passion for polity, than for doctrine. In no other land has there been the same strange co-existence of theological uniformity with ecclesiastical difference, sects and churches multiplying while adhering to the same creed and teaching the same doctrines.

Now, ecclesiastical nonconformity has been to the Scotch people a signal good. They owe to it their political progress and freedom, the keen interest in politics, as well as the almost scientific grasp of their problems which distinguishes them. But think what it must have meant when its distinctive doctrines were questioned or denied. Here and there the frozen forms of thought seemed to liquefy in the warm sunshine of intense evangelical enthusiasm—as, for example, the Marrow Men, the Seceder Fathers, and the Congregational Missionaries; but the recognized and acknowledged national theology did not cease to be represented by a "confession" that teaches that "God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass," has elected some to everlasting life, predestinated others to everlasting death, and has made the numbers in each case so "certain and definite" that increase and decrease are alike impossible. Man is born with his destiny fixed. Those for whom Christ died must be saved, those for whom He did not die must be lost. The redeemed are effectually called by

the Spirit; the rest of mankind, denied his effectual operations, are left to perish in their sins. These were the doctrines that obtained in Scotland in the middle of last century, and still remain as the foundation of the Presbyterian Churches, though the popular and practical theology taught in its pulpits is better and freer than the national creed.

Few systems have been so successful in presenting God in a character offensive to sensitive and reflective minds.

We know, for example, how it sent thinkers like Rosseau, sick of artificial thoughts and systems, to praise the state and religion of nature; or how it contributed to the subtle scepticism of Hume, supplying him with subjects and seasoning for his ironical humour; or how the Calvinist teacher led Gibbon from Rome to cynical scepticism; or its responsibility for the Atheism of Shelley expressed in "Queen Mab," where he sketches the only God his childhood had known. It was the merciless theology of Jonathan Edwards that made Channing, and with him much of New England, Unitarian. The Calvinism of Newton and the English Evangelicals contributed to the later and sadder depression of Cowper, which made him live in despondency and die in despair; drove the sensitive soul of Charlotte Brontë almost to madness; paved the way in the Church of England for the recoil from Evangelicalism to Ritualism on the one hand, and so-called Rationalism on the other, as is confessed by two representative men—John Henry Newman, who fled to the Church of Rome, and Francis William Newman, who wandered into the bleak uplands of naked Theism. The brothers Wilberforce became, the one an easy convert to Rome, the other a leading High Churchman; the brothers Froude followed the brothers Newman, and as the outcome of a theology that had no conception of beneficence and love. It was under the shadow of such a system of thought that my fathers dwelt, dreading lest the decrees of God did not ordain their salvation, and fearful lest the Divine Spirit should never strive with them. I can remember the tale told at my own fireside of how the mother-heart felt when a child was taken, lest being the child of an unbelieving parent it should be denied a place among the angels who behold the Master's face.

It was into such a world of thought that James Morison was ordained. We sometimes say that when God has a work to do, He always provides the man to do it. It was so in this conflict. John Knox had freed the land from Papal and priestly tyranny, Ebenezer Erskine had given church patronage its mortal wound, Thomas Chalmers had called the land to a new venture for God, The Haldanes had cried aloud, "Ye must be born again"; but still there was a want; the doctrine of unconditional election, as I have said, brooded like a terrifying nightmare over the Church

of the most religious people in the world. A man was needed; and, in the providence of God a man arose.

James Morison was licensed to preach the Gospel in the Spring of 1839. He gave promise of great scholarship, which those familiar with his later work of exposition regard as amply fulfilled. But his conception of the evangel was to be determined not in the Academy, but in contact with men. His earliest preaching appointments led him to discover that, with all his academic accomplishments, he had not yet found " the one thing needful " for preacher and hearer—the " knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus." So real was this consciousness in young Morison, that he actually began to fear there was some serious defect in his experience. Like many another, while he had been deeply studying theology as a science, he had never thought it necessary to bring these studies to bear upon his own heart, or the state of his soul before God. To speak figuratively, the divergent lines of the parabola approached one another at the Cross, and the earnest student of divinity found in the simple scriptural theology to which the needs of men drove him back, that which bathed his soul in bliss.

My narrative, gentlemen, must necessarily at this point be of a personal character. Morison had accepted a call to Clerk's Lane Secession Church, Kilmarnock, but not before he had discovered that Christ had died for all and therefore for him. The lines converged and met which had been kept distinct before. Theology and religion met in the conversion of the soul. It was the knowledge of God as a Saviour, that made men good. He had thought it to be his chief duty, as a minister, to expound the Word of God, seriatim, from Genesis to Revelation; but now he saw that there was *one truth* more excellent than all the others and to which all others did obeisance, as the sheaves of Joseph's brethren.

The Church at Kilmarnock to which Morison was invited, let me note, was one of the best country vacancies in the Secession Church at the time. Before the union of 1822 it had belonged to that section of the Seceders who deemed it to be inconsistent with their conscientious convictions as dissenters to take the burgess oath, and were, therefore, called Anti-Burghers. It had enjoyed the ministry of two remarkable men whose fame travelled far beyond their own country—the Rev James Robertson and Dr. Ritchie. The former was author of a pamphlet on the " Death of Jesus Christ," which created considerable discussion in Ayrshire, and gave rise to Burns's " Kirk's Alarm," which was written as a satire on the Doctor's opponents.

Well, to this Church Morison was ordained on October 1st, 1840. He had taken the " trials " which every minister-elect under the Presbyterian system has to undergo at the hands of his future colleagues. These in his case were unusually severe, partly

because he came to the Presbytery with a high reputation for scholarship, but chiefly because of his discourse on the topic, " Can a Sinner do anything acceptable to God without the influence of the Holy Spirit ? " The difference of opinion, however, was not marked as yet, and the " trials " were in the end sustained with high approbation. Between the date of the " trials " and that fixed for his ordination a tractate from his pen and bearing the title, " The Way of Salvation," made its appearance, and created a wide diversity of opinion. To some the statements seemed too strong, to others they were of a cognate character to the wild excitement of the early Methodists. Some of the fathers of the Presbytery felt constrained in all honesty of purpose to " deal " with their young brother before ordaining him, with a view to inducing him to withdraw the pamphlet or modify its statements.

On the day of the Ordination the first mutterings of the storm were plainly heard. When the time of service arrived there was no appearance of either Presbytery or Minister-elect. The overflowing congregation had learned that the Presbytery were meeting in the Session-house, and became indignant when they found that the young pastor was being exposed to a " heckling " as to his religious views. It was a curious scene that was being enacted in the Session-house. The cause of the offence was the tract which one of the Ministers had read in its entirety, while others had not even seen it. As a matter of fact they had gone upon hearsay evidence and rumour. At last Morison produced the pamphlet, and claimed boldly that the doctrines it promulgated were really those of his late teacher Professor John Brown. The matter was compromised by the Presbytery " enjoining Morison to be more guarded in his utterances and to suppress the tract." This he finally consented to do. But the thunderstorm was only postponed.

Fifty years before, the graphic and sarcastic pen of Robert Burns had made the world familiar with the fondness of Ayrshire artisans and rustics for theological discussions in connection with the case of Dr. McGill of Ayr ; but a fresh, and in some respects, a healthier, proof of the same liking, was given in the case of James Morison of Kilmarnock. Indeed the public mind had been sharpened and prepared by great historic movements. The agitations about the not too remote Reform Bill had given occasion for many a keen debate. The voluntary controversy had whetted both the temper and the tongue of many a local Hampden, and the Great Chartist Movement had predisposed multitudes of the working classes to see similar inequalities in the National Creed and to welcome any divine who would sweep away the appearance of partiality and the " respect of persons " from the decrees of God.

In January, 1841, Morison published his third pamphlet, entitled " The Nature of the Atonement," which was to bring to a

head the secret agitation which had been conducted against him ever since his ordination by members of the Presbytery. During November and December, 1840, he had preached a series of sermons on the text I. John ii. 2, " He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." In these he had traversed the whole doctrine of the Atonement, and naturally had evoked a number of important questions from enquirers. To furnish a reply to these his pamphlet was written. It contains six sections. In the first five Morison confines himself to the negative aspect, and shows " what the Atonement is not," thus clearing the ground of ideas often confounded with it. The Atonement is not Pardon ; it is not Justification ; it is not Redemption ; it is not Reconciliation ; it is not the Payment of a Debt. " The Atonement is an expedient introduced into the divine moral government, consisting of the obedience unto death of Jesus Christ, which has completely removed all the obstacles standing between man and salvation, except the obstacles within him."

It must be noted that the view taken at this time by Morison, while modifying materially the high Calvinistic doctrine, must not be supposed to be as yet either professedly or in tendency Arminian. As Dr. Cairns remarks, " the Arminian controversy not only raised the old Pelagian question that God willed the salvation of all men *equally* by the death of Christ ; but also that other which was at issue between Godeschaleus and his opponents, that Christ was not put to death for the *redemption* of the whole world, but only of those who are saved, viz., the predestinated. At least as far back as the Synod of Dort, probably much further, John Cameron asserted that while the elect are by an effectual and irrevocable calling saved through the death of Christ, the latter died for *all men*, with the intention that they might be invited and called to repentance." This view was warmly championed by many of the French Protestant theologians and many of the Reformed Churches. Morison could plead that his statement of the doctrine of the Atonement was practically that subscribed to by the Congregational and Baptist Churches, both in Britain and in America. Also in *some* respects, though not in *all* by Dr. John Brown, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, who, however, did not push his promises to their ultimate logical conclusion, while Morison did. (See Dr. Cairns' Memoir of Dr. John Brown.) The simplicity of the grand doctrines of Redemption was long obscured by a crowd of hair-splitting distinctions which rather tended to perplex than to persuade. In the hope of making clear those issues which had so long been darkened, Morison stated his views as they were related to the Atonement. His fate was the fate of all who are in advance of their time.

It is not surprising that the dissatisfaction of the Presbytery

grew so great that they appointed a committee to confer with Morison concerning his alleged errors in doctrine. The Committee met him twice at Irvine—on January 20th and February 16th, 1841. They could not agree. In March, 1841, he was summoned to meet the Presbytery in his own church at Clerk's Lane to answer to a charge of teaching doctrines inconsistent with the standards of the Secession Church, also to reply to a memorial addressed to the reverend Court by forty-one members of his congregation, who professed to be perplexed by the strange doctrines preached by their new pastor. Against this, a long Memorial was sent in by the Congregation, signed by four elders in the name of between 400 and 500 members, and nearly 200 adherents, intimating their entire satisfaction with Morison's teaching, and throwing out a broad hint, that if any attempt were made to interfere with their minister, the memorialists would withdraw from the jurisdiction of the Presbytery at once. At the Presbytery Meeting, the charges against him were drawn up in tabulated form by a sub-committee and centred round two points. (1) *The alleged* doctrinal errors regarding the Atonement, and how saving faith in its efficiency was made possible to each separate individual. (2) *Whether* Mr. Morison had been guilty of disingenuous conduct over the suppression of his first tract. The first charge was sub-divided into eight heads, dealing respectively with the various errors supposed to have been affirmed by Mr. Morison ; viz. :

(*a*) *that the* object of saving faith to any person is the statement that Christ made Atonement for the sins of that person, as He made Atonement for the sins of the whole world ; and that the seeing of this statement to be true is Saving faith, and gives the Assurance of Salvation.

(*b*) *that all* men were able of themselves to believe the Gospel unto Salvation, or in other words to put away unbelief, the only obstacle to salvation which the Atonement has not removed ;

(*c*) *that no* person ought to be directed to pray for grace to help him to believe, even though he were an anxious sinner ; and that no person's prayers could be of any avail till he believed unto salvation, which believing must immediately give knowledge that the person is saved ;

(*d*) *that* repentance in Scripture meant only a change of mind, and was not godly sorrow for sin ;

(*e*) *that* justification is not pardon, but is implied in pardon ; that God pardons only in His character of Father and justifies only in the character of Judge—that justification is the expression of the fatherly favour of God ;

(*f*) *that* Election comes in the order of nature after the Atonement ;

(*g*) *that there* are in Mr. Morison's publications many expressions

unscriptural, unwarrantable, and calculated to depreciate the Atonement.

Morison answered the charges, but he stood absolutely alone. Only his aged father came from a distant Presbytery to stand by his son. It was proposed that he be admonished and suspended until he should retract his errors, and express sorrow for the offence given to his brethren. The resolution was carried, Morison protested, but " the Presbytery," to quote Dr. Adamson's account of the meeting, " took the case so thoroughly into their own hands that as far as possible they attempted to carry out their own sentence, being determined that they would have nothing to do with him whom they had condemned, that his mouth should be closed, and his pastoral work ended. At an after meeting of the Presbytery, held before the meeting of the Synod, they removed Mr. Morison's name from the roll as a member of the Presbytery, and gave the few who seceded from his Church the name of the Clerk's Lane Congregation. Such conduct was without precedent, and ran counter to the rules of their denomination and all ideas of justice."

Morison, as was to be expected, appealed to Cæsar. This separation from the Secession Church could not be complete until his appeal to the Synod had been disposed of. This was the highest court of the Church and was appointed to meet in Glasgow on June 7th, 1841. If Napoleon's " hundred days " between his departure from Elba and his final struggle at Waterloo were days of fighting, James Morison's ninety days between the Presbytery and the Synod were days of holy calm and usefulness. He prepared and issued the largest of his Gospel publication entitled, " The Extent of the Atonement," in which he discussed the central point in the controversy evoked by his views, viz., " Did Christ, or did He not die for All Men ? " It was this pamphlet that Dr. Candlish is supposed to have had in view, in his unsatisfactory work on the Atonement, published some years later, in which he ridiculed the procedure of " those writers who strung so many texts together and called it theological argument, much after the fashion of children who heap stones together on the seashore and call their tottering fabric a house." The third of the four sections into which this treatise was divided was the most important for it contained the discussion of ' objections usually alleged against the Universality of the Atonement." For example, " If Christ died for more than those who shall ultimately be saved, has He not died in vain for many ? " " If Christ died for the ultimately unsaved, is it *just* in God to make them pay the penalty of their Sins over again ? " and so on. In this discussion Morison laid Usher, Williams, Wright, the writings of Boston of Ettrick and the two Erskines under contribution much to his own advantage. It can be imagined what the effect of such a pamphlet would be issued

only a week before the meeting of the fateful Synod. The principal business was "the Atonement Controversy," and it brought together a large representation of the "Fathers and Brethren." There were speeches as notable for their fairness and moderation as there were others characterized by injustice and violence. The speech of the Debate was that of Dr. John Brown who reasoned with brilliant logic, but without avail. Indeed, the speech of Dr. Brown did Morison's cause more harm than good. The bare idea that their new views could find any favour amongst the professorate of the Secession sent such a thrill of pious horror through the breasts of those good, godly men, that they never really judged the case upon its merits. Heresy, even though only incipient, must be crushed out. The "suspension" pronounced upon Morison by the Presbytery of Kilmarnock was ordered to be continued, and a committee appointed to deal with him. But the Synod had to endure more than one startling surprise on that eventful night.

No sooner had the Moderator pronounced these words—"Mr. James Morison, in the name of the great King and Head of the Church and by decision of this Venerable Court of the Church of Christ, I suspend you from the office of the ministry in connection with the United Secession Church,"—then, amidst profound silence, Morison stretched forth his right hand, and in tones tremulous with emotion said, "Sooner shall my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, than that this decision shall prevent me from preaching the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ . . . I will hold myself at liberty to maintain and preach the same doctrines as if no such decision had been come to."

"We have this day cut off from us the ablest of our younger men," said Dr. Heugh to the late Principal Harper, "and one who need never have left us, had his honesty not been in excess of his worldly wisdom." "Ay, mark my words," said one of the Presbyterians when Morison had sat down, "this day a new denomination has been born in Scotland." The prophecy was in due time fulfilled. But the end was not yet. In 1842, Morison's father, the Rev. Robert Morison of Bathgate, was also libelled and suspended from his sacred office. Then, in 1843, the same fate was meted out to the Rev. Alexander C. Rutherford of Falkirk, and the Rev. John Guthrie of Kendal, their offence being that they had indicated sympathy with the Morisons. But the same ferment was also at work elsewhere. In 1844, the Rev. John Kirk of the Hamilton Congregational Church, through the publication of two volumes in which he strongly affirmed the doctrines of Universal Atonement, Man's ability to believe the Gospel, and the Universality and resistibility of the Holy Spirit's operations, found himself at variance with many of his congregational brethren. About the same time also, nine students belonging to the Congregational

Theological Hall at Glasgow, were expelled for holding the " New Views," as Morison's opinions began to be called. Then, five of the Congregational Churches in the neighbourhood of Glasgow and four in the North of Scotland, were " disowned " from the Connection. And so the small Society formed after Morison's suspension under the name of " The Evangelical Union " grew until, in 1850, there were about twenty ministers and a considerably larger number of Churches and Mission Stations. And the blessing of the Lord was upon them all.

With Morison's subsequent fortunes I am not supposed here to concern myself. Let me before bringing this review to a close gather up the main points to be kept in mind, and also suggest to you the service Morison rendered to theological thought.

I have pointed out to you that the " Morisonians " were theological Nonconformists. They formulated no new ecclesiastical principle ; they had no peculiar and distinctive church policy to expound or defend. To this day you will find that while the independence of the churches is conserved, the government of some of the churches is after the Presbyterian method, and that of others of the purely congregational order. The Evangelical Union had a very distinct view of the Ministry and demanded that all its ministers should be first of all licensed by the Annual Assembly as fitted to preach the Gospel to the churches to which in the providence of God they might be called ; and again by the solemn laying on of the hands of the brethren when ordained to the churches which they had consented to serve. This practice has become somewhat irregular, I believe, since the union with the Congregational Union in 1896. They dissented from the dominant, in a sense, national, theology, and the ground of dissent was its Calvinism.

The points of difference may be exhibited under two aspects—(1) *as regards* God, (2) *as regards* man ; that is *first* as regards the divine purpose in redemption, and *second,* as regards the mutual action and relations of the divine truth and the human will. They affirmed that the truths of the Gospel are universal in purpose and provision, designed to secure the salvation of all men everywhere, and conditional in action, becoming effective only through faith. The first of these has always been well described as standing for the three universalities—that God as the real Father of all men loves every man ; that Christ made atonement for every man, and so made the salvation of every man possible, in opposition to a limited propitiation ; and that the Holy Spirit in its work seeks to reach and teach all men, to secure their conversion, in opposition to the limitation of its work to those whom God had predestinated to faith.

These were the distinctive principles of Morisonians on its Godward side. Its messengers lived to proclaim the absolute, all-embracing

graciousness of God. He is never partial, has in His purposes and decrees no respect of persons. He is love to the individual man, to the collective race. "Men, though they seem but bubbles floating on the stream whose channel is time, are yet godlike spirits, born of Eternal Love, nursed, guarded, guided by it, designed, though not predestined, to the happiness it delights to see and bestow." Whatever man may be, he is a being God did not think it beneath Him to make, and having made and seen fall, to redeem. God is not first creator and sovereign, and then only to a limited extent, and in an adoptive sense, Father; but first and last and always Father; His sovereignty being of the grand and paternal, and not of the artificial, regal sort. And His universal fatherhood implies man's universal sonship; the desires on His side that seek our good, the aspirations on ours that seek His grace, the home whence we came, and to which even in our worst estate, we now and then yearn to return. Though He does what He pleases, He pleases to do only what is good. He has more than the potter's power, He has not less than the potter's heart. The potter has power over the clay—no man questions it; but he will use it to obtain the greatest possible number of honourable vessels, every one doomed to destruction being a loss to the potter, not the clay. That God has power over men, Morison never questioned, but declared that He will use His power for ends prescribed by His universal benevolence and, therefore, so as to lead the greatest possible number to the greatest possible happiness, loss being loss to God as well as to man. The divine purpose is worthy of the Purposer, broad and generous as His love, deep and exalted as His righteousness. "The Lord is good to all and His tender mercies are over all His works." That was the basal and fontal principle of Morisonianism. On that the system was built and from that its several distinctive doctrines flow. Where Calvinism placed the absolute sovereignty, Morison placed the Universal Fatherhood. As Calvinism reasoned from its premiss to a salvation determined and destined to a definite number by a divine decree, Morison reasoned from his premiss to an Atonement determined in extent and intention by the divine paternal benevolence. The will of God can never attempt less than His heart desires. To be a universal father is to be universal love, and to be universal love is to seek the happiness of the universe. Hence the Atonement made by the Son, but designed by the Father, cannot aim at less than universal ends. The brotherhood of Christ is as broad as the fatherhood of God. Hence also it follows that no living man is forsaken of God's spirit. God has poured out His Spirit upon all flesh, that all lands may see the Salvation of our God." "And the Spirit and the Bride say, come, and let him that heareth say, come. And let him that is athirst come; and whoseoever will, let him take of the water of life freely."

*On the* manward side Morison's theology is throughout consistently and essentially conditional. Man as fallen is ever free, and God respects his freedom. The virtues of the heathen are not splendid vices, but virtues as genuine and virtuous as the Christian. In salvation the human will is as free as the divine, and its action as necessary. Salvation is of our God, but only when man believes is it experienced—does the eternal righteousness become ours. These conditionalities are the necessary counterpart and completion of the universalities. An unconditional Salvation, dependent on the decree of God alone, making God the only real actor, man a mere mask for the divine energy.

A word in closing as to the effect of Morison's views upon subsequent thought. The religious world in Scotland found in course of time that smashing the tables of stone was no way to get rid of the truth they contained; a fool might cut the divine roll into fragments with his penknife, but he does not in that way escape from its eternal demands. Soon the "new views" began to modify the old Calvinism, until it came to pass that while Presbyterian Ministers continued to sign the Confession of Faith, at their ordination, they ceased to preach it in their ministry. At length in the most liberal section of that Communion an Act was called for and passed giving relief to consciences that had become too sensitive to handle the word of God deceitfully. It is not saying too much that Scotland owes to James Morison the present broad and liberal doctrines regarding a full, and free, and present Atonement. Had he done nothing else than break down the middle wall of predestinarian partition separating the great mass of sinful humanity from the elect few whose Calvinism would have shut up, in a sort of reserved compartment entitled the "Covenant of Grace," he would still have achieved a work fraught with immeasurable beneficial consequences to his fellow countrymen. The battle with the Synod over the Universality of the Atonement was in reality a Spiritual Victory, the fruits of which are enjoyed by us to-day. Thank God, no despairing human soul need now seek refuge in the spiritual suicide of scepticism, driven thereto by the Nemesis of a predestinarian creed. That consummation for which we ought to be devoutly thankful we largely own to the heroic stand for the Truth as it is in Jesus, made eighty years ago by James Morison.

> "Well done! Thy words are great and bold.
> At times they seem to me
> Like Luther's in the days of old,
> Half-battles for the free."
>
> LONGFELLOW.

## Whitefield and Congregationalism

(*Continued from p.* 180)

IT was the misfortune of the Calvinist section that political conditions so promising coincided with internal conditions that were troublesome and disturbed. Obviously a strong move was necessary if the hour was to yield success, and in the Countess of Huntingdon it had gained a friend capable of controlling the issues. A plan of campaign was inaugurated and Howell Harris refers to it as a new "Defence and Apology for the Methodists." Of this plan of campaign the main features are not difficult to trace.

Justice to Whitefield demands that we should recognize that this movement was engineered into readiness before he arrived again in England; but he was the centre of it, for it is evident from all that followed that its chief purpose was to lift him clear of certain stultifying entanglements and present him to the kingdom in general and the bishops in particular as involved in no sectional or separatory movement, and also, if possible, to clear him and other Methodist clergymen from the charge of canonical irregularity in their method of preaching at large.

Some of the great preacher's proceedings during the ensuing few years which have puzzled his biographers become easy of interpretation if these aims are kept in view.

His first step consisted in accepting the post of Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. As Private Chaplain to a peeress it was assumed that he could not be regarded as a mere parochial clergyman when he intruded into another man's parish. Immediately after this he gathered together the preachers of his own

connection and "read the Riot act"—demanding discipline and administering a cold douche to those who had been advocating separatism. Having by these means rid the connexion of all its most headstrong preachers he promptly resigned his Moderatorship, and, while owning himself "in connection," proclaimed himself free from all responsibility for oversight or propaganda and bent upon serving all sections of the Protestant Church without regard to their denominational or theological complexion. At the same time he began to publish to all and sundry that henceforth he intended to form no societies and to head no party. This cry—"I have no party to head and no particular interest to serve" was the burden of his lay for many months, and on the strength of it he formed a new compact with the Wesleys and was admitted to the pulpits of their societies. He even went so far in the course that had been set as to resign the oversight of Moorfields Tabernacle, his own private Chapel. By these means, in the course of a year or two he had succeeded to some extent in clearing himself of all official responsibility for any one section of the revival work and in establishing himself as a sort of apostle among all, and, withal, a zealous upholder of the forms and formulas of the Church of England.

Not that there had been no set-backs. Far from it. He hoped to have established Lady Huntingdon in his place as leader if not as Moderator, and so far as can be discerned the plan did not break down because she was unwilling. It broke down because the Whitefieldian Societies as a whole were not at all keen for the new arrangement. The supremacy of Whitefield and Howell Harris was established on personal grounds. They were themselves the spiritual fathers of most of the members in the different societies. Their leadership was apostolic far more than it was official. The Countess of Huntingdon, devoted Christian and born leader

though she was, had no such claim upon their allegiance. Moreover, there was a strong leaven of dissent among the rank and file as well as among the preachers. Whitefield shed the latter, but the former remained and seemingly refused to accept the Countess of Huntingdon as their head. Bereft of Whitefield they elected to retain Howell Harris; and thus the only scheme which, Whitefield afterwards declared, he ever made for the perpetuation of his Societies, broke down.

But by this time Howell Harris's position in Wales was threatened. Rivalry between himself and Daniel Rowland was driving the Welsh societies into two camps, and matters were in the greatest confusion among them when, early in 1751, the tidings went through the land that the Prince of Wales was dead.

Whitefield's letters were always "selected" before being published. One reference only to the Prince of Wales' death have I been able to discover. "It hath given me a shock," he says. "It hath given me a shock." Such must indeed have been the case for, so far as can be seen, that event put an end to Whitefield's dream of a bishopric, and the effect is to be discerned almost immediately in the withdrawal of Howell Harris from the ranks of Calvinistic Methodism. The one hope that had held him, despite the equivocal character of his position in England and the uncomfortable character of his position in Wales, had been his hope of ordination, and that was buried along with Whitefield's bishopric in the tomb of the Prince.

With the collapse of its chief feature it might be thought that the whole of the new edifice of Methodist reorganization would come to the ground. That it did not is due to no little extent to the tenacity and pertinacity of the Countess of Huntingdon. The policy pursued by Whitefield was necessarily modified, but it was not changed sufficiently to endanger the pact between himself and the Wesleys—at least for some

years to come. The "irresponsible" preaching of the Gospel to all, in which Whitefield so much delighted, remained still his plan, and if anyone must organize he was content to let it be Lady Huntingdon or John Wesley.

But at the same time it was obvious that this hand to mouth method had its limitations. Especially in London, it was felt, Whitefield must be assured of a pulpit of his own. We may see the effect of the loss of the Prince of Wales in the fact that whereas Whitefield in 1748 was prepared to resign the oversight of Moorfields Tabernacle to any other of the Calvinist preachers who would undertake it, in the summer of 1751 (that is, within a few months after the Prince's death) a scheme for rebuilding the Tabernacle on a larger scale was on foot, and the new edifice was opened in 1753. In this year also the Bristol Tabernacle was erected; and in 1756 Whitefield, in order to have a pulpit in the fashionable quarter of London, erected the Tottenham Court Chapel. This building of new Tabernacles marks, of course, a modification of Whitefield's declaration that he was not out to form Societies or lead a party. Circumstances had been too much for him, and, while keeping within the letter of his proclamation he was being quietly pushed by his environment into a position of responsibility.

The first intention was to place the Tottenham Court Chapel under the protection of Lady Huntingdon as a private Chapel. Hence the name "Chapel" and not "Tabernacle." It was designed to be served by Anglican Clergy only. All this was in line with the earlier scheme. When, however, Counsel's opinion was taken it was found that the privilege of a peer did not extend to the licensing of a Chapel, unless indeed the Chapel was so private that it did not open on to the public way at all. As a result of this finding the building had to be licensed as the other chapels. Still its object

was to accommodate the most aristocratic portion of Whitefield's adherents, and no dissenter or layman was asked to minister within its walls until some nine years later, when Whitefield's plans had undergone still further modification.

Meanwhile Whitefield had, in effect, if not in form, assumed his place as head of the Whitefieldian Societies in England, making periodical circuits among them. But at the same time the Tabernacle Connexion was never formally re-organized on the old plan. Instead the Societies gathered themselves into geographical groups, and what "Associations" were held were group associations only. During these days the position of Thomas Adams as Whitefield's first lieutenant and the virtual administrator of Whitefieldian affairs outside London placed the Rodborough group of Societies in an outstanding position.

In 1763 an event occurred which put another stumbling-block in the way of the Anglican schemes of the Countess of Huntingdon and hastened George Whitefield along the way towards dissent. Daniel Rowland, leader of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, was a fully ordained clergyman of the Church of England. On the charge of persistent irregularity in preaching out of his own parish he was excluded from his ministry. This action by his bishop marked the lengths to which opposition to the methodists was now prepared to go, and a significant happening of that same year, which must be regarded along with the Welsh incident, was the ordination of Andrew Kinsman.

Kinsman, like Thomas Adams, was one of Whitefield's own spiritual children. He became a preacher among his own neighbours at Plymouth, and finally built the Tabernacle at Devonport. The sacramental difficulty in those Western parts was felt very keenly, and the separatist spirit at last became so pronounced that Kinsman formed the Society into an Independent

Church and was ordained at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol, by a number of Ministers—some Baptist and some Congregational. Whitefield himself was not present, but that he acquiesced in the deed is evidenced by the fact that he appointed Kinsman to officiate at the London Chapels shortly after.

The need for preachers and more especially for ordained Ministers was acute in these days. The position of Methodists in Church and Meeting was precarious, and many of them were openly in favour of separation. The ordination of Andrew Kinsman therefore marks an epoch in Whitefield's career, and in connexion with that the fact that in the following year Moorfields Tabernacle and the Tottenham Chapel were registered as " Independent " must be taken as a corrolary of the expulsion of Daniel Rowland. It also means that, to all intents and purposes, the pre-1751 pact was at an end.

Whitefield was away on one of his visits to America at the date of the Welsh Minister's exclusion from his office, and it is an indication of his changed outlook that immediately upon his return he appointed Thomas Adams, a layman, and Andrew Kinsman, a minister of Dissenters' ordination, to officiate in Tottenham Court Chapel, as well as at Moorfields.

Time will not permit of our reviewing Whitefield's attitude towards the dissenters in America. Suffice it to say that it was, especially in his later years, of the most intimate description.

During the last few years of the great preacher's life others of the Societies that had been formed by his converts adopted the Independent plan—notably those at Exeter and Gosport, their Ministers receiving ordination at the hands of dissenting ministers.

Whitefield died in 1770, and in the same year also Thomas Adams and Howell Davies of Pembrokeshire passed away, and Calvinistic Methodism was bereft of three out of its five leaders. Only the Countess of

Huntingdon, in England, and Daniel Rowland, in Wales, were left.

At this critical juncture the case of the Gloucestershire Societies becomes interesting.

The Rodborough Connexion, as it was now termed, was of wider reach than Gloucestershire; it embraced the Wiltshire Societies as well. Moreover, the death of Howell Davies had removed the leader from the Pembrokeshire group of Societies and the Calvinistic Methodists in that "little England beyond Wales" were not anxious to join the Welsh Connexion, so they allied themselves with the Gloucestershire group and Rodborough became, to some degree, responsible for Haverfordwest and Narberth and a few smaller Societies.

We have now come to the last phase of our enquiry. The course of Whitefield's Societies has been traced through the period when the Connexion was a closely woven association under a Moderator; and later we have seen how they became loosely confederated, cohering under the informal sway of Whitefield and two or three of his lay colleagues. How this condition of things was tending to end in a type of independency has been marked in the case of two or three particular Societies. It remains to us very briefly to trace the steps by which after the death of their leaders the Gloucestershire Societies adopted that course.

* * * * *

At first the preachers were appalled by the difficulties they were called upon to face. There was now no Anglican Clergyman left to whom they could apply to administer the Sacrament among them. Moorfield's Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel, left under the charge of two Managers by the terms of Whitefield's Will, were almost as sore beset. How even to meet the claims made upon them for preachers they scarcely knew. It was when they were in this pass that William Hogg, now the senior preacher at Rodborough, laid hold

of Rowland Hill, a rising young preacher who managed to obtain deacon's orders—but no more in the Church of England, and he with them set to work to organize their resources. Torial Joss, a sea captain of great preaching powers whom Whitefield a few years previously had made his assistant at London, was now ordained—it is said at Rodborough—and Cornelius Winter was ordained also and was set in charge of the Wiltshire Societies which were constituted an Independent Church.

At this period it was that the Rodborough Connexion fell foul of the Countess of Huntingdon. The cause of the trouble was not simple. Trevecca College, founded by the Countess for the training of young men for the Christian Ministry, was now doing a good work, and some of the students had been allowed to labour among the Gloucestershire Societies. Suspicion arose that the Rodborough Connexion was trying to capture them before they had fulfilled their obligations to the College. In particular one of them, Jehoida Brewer, a very promising preacher and afterwards Minister at Carr's Lane, Birmingham, was persuaded to settle at Rodborough itself and was ordained to the Ministry there, the Society being constituted an Independent Church at the same time. This was in 1778, and the Dursley Society followed suit some six years later by calling another Trevecca Student, whether with the imperious Countess' consent or not history does not definitely say, but the latter is to be suspected.

Out of Whitefield's labours in the County of Gloucester, therefore, without taking any account of their vivifying effect on existing Churches, the following Congregational Churches directly sprang : Bristol and Kingswood Tabernacles, Rodborough Tabernacle and Dursley Tabernacle, and, indirectly, at a later day, Wotton-under-Edge Tabernacle, Nibley, Frampton-on-Severn, Stonehouse and Ruscombe.

In concluding one would enter a caveat in respect of

two possible misunderstandings. In an essay of this character where one phase of a man's life is tracked and described with necessary limitations of time and space, it is possible to suggest a very false view of the man as an "all round" personality. Whitefield must not be judged from the meagre details given here. He was no time-server, and had very much higher motives in submitting himself to the course of action he pursued just prior to 1751 than this story can suggest.

In connecting the name of George Whitefield with any one type of Christian theology or Church polity we are brought immediately into the presence of contradictions and confusions. Perhaps this is to be expected, since the great preacher's happiest qualities lay nearer to the emotional than the intellectual side of his nature. The elements of the Gospel, rather than those developments which ripen into Churchmanship, absorbed him, and though they are in error who tell us that he never took any share in matters of organization, yet the part he took was so trifling as to call for very little attention. The real organizers of his work were Howell Harris, the Countess of Huntingdon, Thomas Adams, and others of his own converts. So far as his denominational position is concerned, the hopelessness of any attempt to do it justice will be realized when I describe him—as the facts justify me in doing—as a priest in the Church of England, who considered Presbyterianism the best form of Church government, and who died the owner of two private chapels both registered as "Independent."

And, lastly, it should be borne in mind that the independency into which the Whitefieldian Societies emerged when they first constituted themselves Churches is not to be identified with the Congregationalism of the Brownists and other early Congregationalists. Indeed in most cases it represented very little more than a negation of Anglicanism, and a claim to self-determination. We may say that it opened the way to the real thing, and there it must be left.

C. E. Watson.

## Congregational Benefactors to the Deaf

(*Continued from p.* 207)

### 3. THE REV. THOMAS ARNOLD.

IN passing to the third member of this great trio—Thomas Arnold—it is of no little interest to note that he was an Irish Moravian by birth, who later in life became member of a Congregational Church. For several generations back his family had been connected with the Moravian Colony in West Cavan, Ireland.

He was born in 1816 at Gracehill, between Londonderry and Belfast, where there was a Moravian settlement. Here he received his early education, which did much to influence him in his zeal for missionary work, in his case demonstrated chiefly in caring for the deaf and dumb. His first connection with these people came about through his friendship with the local pastor of his district, the Rev. George Kirkpatrick, who visited his father's furniture shop one fine spring morning in 1830. This meeting was the beginning of a firm friendship between the two, and it was on one of his visits to the parsonage that he came in contact with James Beatty, a deaf lad from Claremont Institution. Mr. Kirkpatrick was greatly interested in the education of the deaf; he had been for years a liberal subscriber to that school and always entertained the annual deputation, and had sent several children handicapped in this way to be educated there. On Beatty's leaving, the secretary of the school had written to Mr. Kirkpatrick about his being taught some suitable trade, with the result that Thomas Arnold's brother agreed to take him in and employ him in his business. Thus Thomas

Arnold came to know him really well, and did what he could to aid him in his pursuit and add to his knowledge of the world : in this way becoming, as it were, baptized as a teacher of the deaf. Soon afterwards the family moved, and Arnold was sent to Mr. Martin's school in Bridgend, where he learned mathematics and book-keeping required for his father's trade. After two years he entered his father's shop and did his best to assist him, though his heart was in other things. On one occasion Mr. Kirkpatrick called on his father for the purpose of offering him free and full training for ministry in the Church of England at his own expense ; but, since he was needed at home, his father refused the offer, much to the youth's regret. Two years later his brother Samuel married and took over the business, with the result that Thomas was able to take a mastership in the Moravian school at Gracehill, thus paving the way for his future educational and literary career. A casual meeting with Mr. McKellen, one of the superintendents of the Manchester City Mission—some of whose superintendents were themselves Moravian, and in one case at least connected with his father's business—caused him to apply to the Committee with a view to undertaking this work among the factory hands in that great city of cotton. So it came about that Thomas Arnold arrived in England.

In Manchester he made several friends, and while dining on one occasion with a certain excellent Moravian couple—Mr. and Mrs. Hull—his attention was drawn by them to an advertisement in *The Manchester Guardian* intimating that an assistant teacher was wanted at the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf at Doncaster, which had been started in 1829 under Charles Baker, the uncle of Archbishop Benson of Canterbury. Being still interested in this work, Arnold applied to Mr. Baker, giving some account of his education and experience as a teacher of the young. A favourable reply was received,

with a cordial invitation to visit the institution for the purpose of seeing the methods that were used, and also to enable Mr. Baker to form his own opinion of his qualifications for the post.

The institution at Doncaster is situated close by the racecourse, and some of its buildings at one time formed part of its grand stand; and even now we believe it is not unknown for a sheet or other receptacle to be let down for the purpose of receiving any gifts the generous-hearted Yorkshire spectators are kind enough to bestow on the deaf children within. After a friendly reception from Mr. and Mrs. Baker, Arnold was shown over the school and saw the teachers at work in their classes. These were taught by the manual alphabet, after printed or written lessons. There were more than a hundred scholars, and to instruct them was a difficult and trying task that made the most exacting demands on human patience and experience. To be a teacher of the deaf means that self must always be subordinated to the great task of initiating others into the fulness of life. For the sanguine and energetic to attain to this state of abnegation is a veritable self-crucifixion: "but with God nothing is impossible." On Arnold's leaving, Mr. Baker said: "You may expect to be appointed, for the Committee will be guided by my opinion"; and so indeed it fell out, for within a very few days he received the appointment.

During his stay in Manchester, Arnold met a certain Miss Sarah Simpson, the second daughter of eighteen children, her father being connected with the Society of Evangelical Friends and a native of Wellington, Somerset. This acquaintance ripened into friendship and eventually marriage, Arnold himself telling us that "after forty-six years of married life I can now say we were married by lot, for the Lord gave her to me to be all I wanted as the helpmeet of a minister, schoolmaster and an abider at home."

During his interview with Mr. Baker a wish was expressed that he should attempt the oral instruction of some of his pupils; so he was given a letter of introduction to Mr. J. Hind, headmaster of the Liverpool Institution, who taught a class by this method. Though he was able to pay a short visit only to this school, he saw enough to convince him that it would be an efficient method if employed exclusively; for it must be remembered that, although signs come naturally to the deaf, deafness is not the cause but only the occasion of dumbness. In the great majority of the deaf the organs of speech are as sound as in the hearing, and Arnold was perfectly right in doing what he could to make the so-called dumb speak. "Lip-reading," he says, "is nothing more than carefully noting the motion of the lips and other facial organs: first in uttering one sound and then two or more in syllables; thus lip-reading will be learned in teaching speech. In reading anything that is printed or written the forms of letters to which we mentally attach the sounds are used; the position of the lips and other organs in speaking are seen, and the deaf mentally associate the vibrations of the same sounds with them, and so they are read, just as we mentally reproduce the words in reading.

"To learn to speak is not learning language; it is only preparatory, for a word used as a name has no resemblance to its subject and is destitute of meaning till they are visibly associated; and it is because children who hear have the object and its name at once presented to sight and hearing that they learn language as they learn to speak. Let the deaf be treated in the same manner. Collect the objects, point to each, name it, and, as they repeat it let them point to the object, and they will soon associate them."

Since this method had not been attempted as yet at Doncaster, Arnold had it all to begin under what might be considered the most unfavourable conditions. He

had to deal with twenty new pupils who had a rooted preference for signs, and he had all the initial difficulties to solve encountered in making a change which involved his pupils being unable to associate with their friends in their natural way; since experience had led him to consider that the oral pupils should be taught apart from those educated by silent methods. Progress therefore was slow at first, but great encouragement was found in the rapid progress of one youth—George Cochin, son of a Methodist minister—who soon articulated well and acquired a very fair knowledge of lip-reading; with the result that much attention was attracted to the school and numerous visitors came to see and hear for themselves. A most touching interview between the father and the boy, when the former heard his son's voice for the first time, did much to strengthen their perseverance in this method and greatly influenced Arnold in his future literary and other pioneer efforts. In fact, he was not only convinced but converted, and as result subsequently resolved to form a school of his own; and from this period, too, dates his resolve to draw up what is now one of the most famous books in the world on the History and Teaching of the Deaf, his historical *Manual for Teachers*—a book that has been reissued and improved by his famous pupil, Mr. A. Farrar, of Chislehurst. Probably every worker for the deaf has again and again given thanks to the author of this book for the valuable information comprehended therein. In those days, too, there were no courses of lectures, or teachers' congresses, though such amenities were just beginning in America; and, excepting for isolated books by Dr. Watson and Mr. Baker, nothing was published on the subject. No one to-day thanks Thomas Arnold more gratefully than the writer of this paper for his wonderful achievement in forming what now is known throughout the deaf world as the Arnold Library, a large collection of books which he left on his death to be

for ever available for the use of teachers of the deaf, and which is housed at the National Deaf Bureau, 104, High Holborn, where no doubt members of this Society will be able to see and study this unique collection for themselves. We should like to say here how much honoured we feel in being allowed to pay this poor tribute to a great man, and it is an occasion for regret that we never had the opportunity of meeting him in person.

Reverting to the Doncaster period of his life, we find that he was at the cross-roads, as it were, of his religious experience, the crisis being precipitated by an invitation from the committee of a newly-formed school for the deaf to take sole charge as its headmaster—an offer he felt bound by his religious opinions to refuse, for the influence of the Oxford movement so repelled him, as indeed it did many others, that he felt called on to take the definite step of leaving the Moravian and English Church to which he had belonged in youth, and to cast in his lot with the Congregationalists. It is not a little striking to remember that each Church to which he belonged at one period or another earnestly besought him to prepare for the ministry ; and this he was eventually persuaded to do—the more so since he saw clearly that no institution for the deaf would appoint him headmaster so long as he stayed outside the Established Church, and this he felt he was called to do. After a formidable *vivâ voce* examination of his faith, on the application of Mr. McCall, of Doncaster Congregational Church, he was accepted for training at Rotherham College, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. W. H. Stowell. During his training he took charge of the country district of Kimberworth, and subsequently was at Hamburg, in Germany, for a few months ; after which he was appointed to Burton-on-Trent, and his marriage with Miss Simpson became an accomplished fact. After a short stay here he was appointed to

Smethwick, near Birmingham, where much good wa done by means of an outdoor mission and by the erection of a new and enlarged chapel for the benefit of the large "black country" population who were to be reached.

In a year or so (1868), however, a call came from Sydney, Australia, to which his missionary spirit led him to respond; and in a very short time he and his family had a wonderful trip of three months from London on the beautiful Aberdeen clipper, *Damascus*, *viâ* Madeira and the Cape to that wonderful Australian port, possibly the finest harbour in the world. The voyage was saddened by the death of a consumptive sailor to whom he had ministered frequently, and this led to his conducting regular Sunday services in the forecastle, with the result that two at least of his congregation themselves became keen Churchmen in Sydney. Though a warm welcome awaited him at Balmain, the post was a far from easy one, since the late minister, with part of his flock, had separated from the Congregational Church and joined the Presbyterians, and all had to be reconstructed and re-established. This Arnold effected by refusing to hear of the past and by making an entirely new beginning; the matter being handled in so tactful and Christian a spirit that in less than twelve months the Church began to prosper again.

The Hon. T. Holt, a member of the legislative council of New South Wales, on learning that Arnold was a teacher of the deaf, applied to him to educate his deaf son, then twelve years old. After consulting his congregation, who cordially approved, he undertook the task, taught the lad orally, and through this incident was brought in contact, at a later date, with his famous pupil, Abraham Farrar. He then suffered from a serious spinal illness, and, after baffling the doctors, practically cured himself by lowering a boat, and, with his wife at the helm, rowing three miles each way.

Being now warned by his medical advisers to return

to England, he accordingly gave up the Church and returned to this country, visiting Palestine on the way for the benefit of his deaf pupil, Holt. He was welcomed and entertained by the Bishop in Jerusalem, and by other members of the English colony at Jaffa and elsewhere. On arrival at the docks he was greeted with a call to the charge of Doddridge Chapel, Northampton, which call he accepted; and it was here that Farrar and others were privately educated, he being able to instruct them individually on the oral method. Thus was established his well-known School for the Deaf Sons of Gentlemen, so successfully carried on by him and by Mr. H. N. Dixon, and which to-day is under Mr. Ince Jones. After resigning the cure in 1884 to devote the remainder of his life to literary and educational work connected with the deaf, Arnold breathed his last in January, 1897, in Northampton, when he was well over eighty. Tablets were erected to his memory in Doddridge Chapel and Beverley Minster.

Among many who were influenced by Arnold to give life-service to the deaf, may be mentioned Mr. Fisher, head of the Hugh Myddleton School for the Deaf, Clerkenwell.

In concluding this paper, it is safe to say that the memory of these three great men will live throughout the deaf world so long as history is recorded; and, if these few notes on their distinguished careers have done anything to bring fresh but richly deserved merit and distinction to the Church to which all three belonged, we shall feel amply rewarded and satisfied that our effort has not been in vain.

Another slight but interesting link with Congregationalism is the fact that the training college for Congregationalists, built at Homerton in 1822, is now an institution for the deaf, under the care of one of the most distinguished teachers the deaf world possesses, Mr. F. G. Barnes; which institution, we understand, is to be

removed this year to a new site in the historical Penn and Chalfonts country.

The Rev. Bodvan Anwyl is an example of a living minister of the Congregational Church who has done good service in the cause of the deaf, having been for several years missioner at Pontypridd. His literary interests, however, have led him to resign this post, and he is now doing much useful linguistic work in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwith. We once had the honour of taking his anniversary services when he was at Pontypridd, and we have now visited both Doddridge Chapel and Springfield School for the Deaf on more than one occasion; so have felt naturally drawn to the task we have set ourselves of strengthening the link that binds us together as brethren who aim to propagate the Christian Faith.*

SELWYN OXLEY.

*The greater part of these facts are taken from the Rev. T. Arnold's own Reminiscences of his Life, written for his *History of Doddridge Chapel, Northampton.*

## Williston Walker

IT would not be fitting for this number of the "Transactions" to appear without some reference to the death of one who was the leading Congregational historian of his time in the United States, perhaps it is safe to say, in the world. On March 9th Professor Williston Walker passed away, all too soon, at the age of sixty-one.

The son of one of the best-known ministers in Connecticut, he had for over thirty years filled various professorial chairs with honour to himself, advantage to learning, and benefit to the Church and the community. First at Bryn Mawr, where he succeeded Woodrow Wilson, then at Hartford, and finally at Yale, where besides being Professor of Ecclesiastical History for twenty years, he has during the last two years held the responsible office of Provost of the University—he has instructed and influenced successive generations of students.

Of Walker as teacher and administrator we on this side know comparatively little; it is as writer and friend that we have been able to appreciate him best. On my shelves there stand, side by side, his "John Calvin" (1906), his "History of the Christian Church" (1918), the "Approaches Towards Church Unity," edited by him and Newman Smyth; and then there is a space which should be occupied, did we live in a world where borrowers return books, by his "Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism."

All these volumes one lays under constant tribute. The last named, published when its author was little over thirty, is an indispensable work of reference for all concerned with the development of thought and

practice in the Congregational churches; the "Calvin" has been translated into French, and is highly esteemed by French Protestants; the "History of the Christian Church" succeeds in the very difficult task of combining in a book of outlines accuracy, proportion, and "readability."

The "Approaches Towards Church Unity"—I value my copy because it was sent to me by Walker—ought to be much better known in this country than it is. Walker contributes the first chapter, on "The Early Development of Church Officers," a chapter so packed with information and judicious comment, that one could readily understand the writer's statement that he had put as much work into it as into any one of his writings. In 1920 Walker had it in mind to expand this chapter into a volume, and it is to be hoped that he has been able to carry out this plan.

Perhaps the best known of Walker's writings to the general public are his biographical sketches—"Ten New England Leaders" (1901) and "Great Men of the Christian Church" (1908). The first of these, with his "History of the Congregational Churches in the United States," brought him recognition from all sides as the foremost authority on the history of the denomination in America, while the active part taken by him in many departments of Congregational activity made him one of the best known figures in state and national assemblies.

Before 1920 I knew Walker through his books and letters only, and had been indebted to him many times for help in various lines of research. I met him first at the International Congregational Council in Boston in that year, and when afterwards I spent some weeks at work in the Yale University Library, he helped me in many ways—welcoming me into his home, allowing me to browse in his library, and showing me the beauties of Newhaven and its surroundings. One recollection of many conversations remains clearly in my mind.

Referring to one who is now the most courageous member of our Episcopal bench, he said :—

> " In that very chair where you are now sitting, he uttered in 1909 a most remarkable prophecy about the war. We were at dinner, and he began to say that war between England and Germany was inevitable, that it would break out in 1912 and would last a long time, and its issue would be determined by the decision of the U.S.A. to fight. Everybody laughed at this as absurd, but he was so much in earnest that he rose from the table and walked about the room to emphasize his words,—and he proved right in every particular except the date ! "

Walker's home and home life were alike charming, and he was quick to acknowledge all he owed, first to the past, and then to the one who has been through a married life of thirty-five years his partner in many-sided service. He had many blessings, but he was dominated by a sense of responsibility, and by voice and pen, by research in the library and discussion in committee, he laboured to serve the church he loved. He has lived a full life, and left behind him books which will carry on his work for many years. Thanking God for him, we can confidently apply to him the words by which the Yale Memorial Window describes his predecessor, G. P. Fisher, " A Scholar, A Teacher, and A Servant of God."

Albert Peel.

## The Early Independents and the Visible Church

IN all criticism of movements or of societies from an outside point of view there lurks the peril of misunderstanding and therefore of unconscious misrepresentation. Alike by the width of his scholarship and by his eminent fair-mindedness, Bishop Creighton was an historian admirably fitted for the difficult task of describing with sympathy an ecclesiastical position far removed from his own. And yet it is safe to say that no Independent would accept as accurate the following description (occurring in his " Historical Lectures and Addresses ") of Congregationalist ideals :—

" What the Congregationalists deny is the conception of the Church as a visible body. Luther asserted that the Holy Catholic Church, consisting of those who were justified by faith, was not the same thing as the Church of Rome. But in his eyes the invisible Church stood to the visible as the soul to the body, the primitive principle which was always striving to find a fit expression. Calvin in like manner contended that his system was universally the true and only expression of the form of the invisible Church in Scripture. The Congregationalists recognized the futility of such claims at the bar of history, and threw away the idea of a visible Church altogether. Believers might meet and worship as they pleased ; through faith they had direct communion with their Lord ; what more was needed ? "

Now, as a matter of fact, the Church Visible has always been a more vivid fact, a more constantly present reality, to the Independents than to the " Low-Church " section of the Church of England. As to the first two generations of English Independents (the Church Fathers, martyrs and exiles of Independency)—it is impossible to study their writings, or even to make acquaintance with them at second-hand through such works as Dexter's " Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years" or Powicke's " Henry Barrow and the Exiled Church of Amsterdam," without discovering that these men erred, if they erred at all, rather by excess than by lack of devotion to the Church Visible. So far from tending to conceive of the Christian life as a life of communion with Christ apart from the Church, they inclined to think of the Church as speaking with the voice of Christ, and possessing the authority of Christ, in its dealings with its members.

(1) Not a few of them, far indeed from allowing believers to "meet and worship as they pleased," were fanatically eager to regulate the government and worship of the Church, down to the smallest detail, in exact accord with Apostolic patterns. To these first Independents joining the Church meant putting themselves under the direct rule of Christ. Nothing could have been further from their thoughts than the emancipation of the human spirit, if emancipation be understood to mean liberty for each man to live his own life as he chooses, or, in popular phraseology, to "get to heaven his own way." The Church was to them the visible kingdom of Christ on earth (2) : outside that kingdom, apart from its Divinely directed discipline, there was no promise of salvation, no certain path to heaven. This "High-Church" character of early English Independency comes out most clearly in Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, the martyrs of 1593, and founders of the Independent denomination, and again in John Smyth and Thomas Helwys, pastors of an exiled Church in Amersterdam and subsequently founders of "the first Baptist Church." But sentiments very similar to theirs may be found in the writings of Robert Browne, "the first Independent" (3) and of Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth, pastors of two of the exiled Amsterdam Churches, in some of the earlier works of John Robinson, pastor of the exiled Church which sent out the "Pilgrim Fathers," and in many other Independent tracts.

Now this tendency of the Independents to exalt ecclesiastical authority and to contend for forms of ecclesiastical government or details of worship, is the more remarkable by reason of the contrast which it presents with the prevailing trend of opinion in both the Puritan and the anti-Puritan parties in the Church of England. No doubt, throughout the reign of Elizabeth there must always have been a host of inarticulate "Catholics": and as early as 1588 Richard Bancroft (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) created a considerable stir by affirming, in a sermon at

(1) For instance, John Smyth actually applied to the Church such sayings as "In none other is there salvation : for neither is there any other name under heaven that is given among men wherein we must be saved," and "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." ("Principles and Inferences Concerning the Visible Church," p. 252 of "Works of John Smyth," Cambridge University Press.)

(2) See, for instance, Smyth's "Parallels" (Works, p. 353) :—"The visible Church which is Christ's Kingdom"—a thought which permeates the writings both of Barrowe and of Smyth.

(3) Robert Browne, the first Englishman to publish to the world (about 1580) the doctrines of Independency and the founder of an exiled Church, subsequently recanted and resumed his ministry in the Church of England. Greenwood, speaking for himself and Barrowe, declared: "We never had anything to do with Browne." See p. 54 of Powicke's "Henry Barrowe and the Exiled Church of Amsterdam." (James Clarke.)

Paul's Cross, the Divine right of episcopacy. But until the preaching of militant Presbyterianism began seriously to menace the security of the Anglican settlement of religion, Presbyterian orders were accepted in the Elizabethan Church as sufficient to qualify a man for an English benefice. And, in the main, Barrowe correctly described the position of the *articulate* parties in the Church of England as he knew her during the latter half of the reign, when he protested :—(4) " And sure most devilish and detestable are these two generally received opinions of these contrary factions of English clergymen. The one " [*i.e.*, the party which persecuted the Puritans for their refusal to conform to the requirements of the Act of Uniformity or the Queen's regulations when these seemed to conflict with New Testament models of ecclesiastical discipline or worship] " giving out that the form of ecclesiastical government prescribed in Christ's Testament, practised by the Apostles and primitive Churches in the time of persecution, is not necessary or tolerable under a Christian Prince. The other " (*i.e.*, the Puritan party, many of whom believed the Presbyterian discipline to be the only form of Church Government with any warrant in the New Testament while nevertheless remaining in an episcopally governed Church where discipline was very lax) " that those ordinances which they acknowledge Christ to have instituted and prescribed unto His Church unto the world's end, may not now under a Christian Prince be put in practice by the Church if he forbid the same as they might ought and were under heathen Princes by the faithful in all ages." The " judicious " Hooker and Archbishop Whitgift may fairly be taken as spokesmen for the Church of England of Barrowe's day. Now Hooker, in his famous " Ecclesiastical Polity," while insisting that episcopacy was an institution dating back to the days of the Apostles, at the same time recognized the right of the Continental Reformed Churches to substitute the rule of presbyteries for the rule of bishops out of regard for the extraordinary circumstances of the early years of the Reformation and the special needs of their own countries. And Whitgift (who, as Archbishop of Canterbury during the last twenty years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was largely responsible for the Elizabethan persecution of the Puritans both Conformist and Nonconformist) maintained (as Dr. Powicke has shown), in opposition alike to Presbyterian and Independent " High-Churchmen," an ultra-" Low-Church " and ultra-Erastian position. " The essential notes of the Church," he insisted, " be these only : the true preaching of the word of GOD and the right administration of the sacraments." (5) " The controversy is not whether many of

(4) " Plain Refutation of Mr. Giffard."
(5) Works : Vol. : p. 185 (Parker Society's Edition).

the things mentioned by the Platformers" (the Presbyterian propagandists) "were fitly used in the Apostles' time or may now be well used in some places . . . neither do we take upon us *as we are slandered*" (Italics mine) "either to blame or to condemn other churches for such orders as they have received most fit for their estates; but this is the whole state of our controversy, when we of this Church, in these perilous days, do see that we have a great number of hollow hearts within this realm that daily gape for alteration of religion and many mighty and great enemies abroad, busily devising and working to bring the same to pass and to overthrow the state both of religion and of the realm—whether, seeing we have a settled order in doctrine and government received and confirmed by law, it may stand with godly and Christian wisdom, with disobedience to the Prince and law, and with the unquietness of the Church and offence of many consciences to attempt so great alteration as this platform must needs bring, and that for matters external only." (6) "The continual practice of Christian Churches (in the time of Christian magistrates), before the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, hath been to give to Christian princes supreme authority in making ecclesiastical orders and laws, yea, and that which is more, in deciding of matters of religion, even in the chief and principal points." (7) "I perceive no such distinction of the commonwealth and the Church that they should be counted, as it were, two several bodies, governed with divers laws and divers magistrates, except the Church be linked with an heathenish and idolatrous commonwealth." (8) "It cannot yet sink into my head that he should be a member of a Christian commonwealth that is not also a member of the Church of Christ, concerning the outward society." (9) Now a comparison between two Puritan petitions presented to James I. on his accession—the petition of various independent bodies and the famous "Millenary" Petition of Puritan clergy—brings out very clearly the fact that the Conformist Puritans accepted, while the Independents repudiated, this conception of a State Church embracing all the citizens of the State.

The Independent petitioners describe their Churches as companies of people "separated from the world by the word of GOD and in a voluntary profession of the faith of Christ." "Separated from the world," "voluntary," these are deeply significant expressions. The first explains the meaning of that frequently misunderstood name of "Separatist" borne by the earliest English Independents. The great "separation" was made not primarily between these Nonconformists and the Church of England but

(6) Works 1, p. 4. (7) Works 3, p. 306. (8) Works 1, p. 22.
(9) Works 1, p. 388.

between them and the world. (10) In the word "voluntary" we have the whole doctrine of religious liberty in the germ. This "separation" was no self-willed revolt against authority: it was simply the assertion and putting into practice of an ideal of the Church. The great question at issue between the Separatists and the Established Church was this question of what John Smyth called the "constitution" of the Church: Did the "true matter" of the Church consist of "saints" (11) voluntarily uniting together or of citizens compelled to Church fellowship by the law of the State? In other words: were Church and State (as Archbishop Whitgift insisted, the same entity in two different aspects, or were they two totally distinct entities?

It would be easy to multiply quotations from all these early Independents to prove that in their eyes the whole constitution of the National Churches of their day—Anglican, Scottish (12), Genevan or Lutheran—was a heinous offence, a negation of the very essence of the true visible Church. Barrowe and Greenwood were wont to protest that "at the blowing of Her Majesty's trumpet at the

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(10) John Cotton, a prominent New England Independent, tells us (in his "Way of Congregational Churches Cleared"), concerning John Robinson, pastor of the "Pilgrim" Church, that "when some Englishmen that offered themselves to become members of his church would sometimes in their confessions profess their separation from the Church of England, Mr. Robinson would bear witness against such profession, avouching they required no such professions of separation from this or that, but only from the world."

(11) See his "Principles and Inferences." (Works, p. 253.)

(12) The militant Presbyterians of the first half of Queen Elizabeth's reign resembled the Independents in exalting ecclesiastical authority and in reverence for New Testament models of Church government, but differed from them in conceiving of Church and State as co-extensive. Thomas Cartwright, who, as the leader of a Presbyterian revolt against the established church order, crossed swords in the early seventies with Whitgift, maintained (against the "Low-Church" position of the future Archbishop) the "High-Church" position with regard to the importance of Church government, even going so far as to declare—"à propos" of the rules which he thought that he found in the Scripture regulating the office of the Church:—"If all the world might be gained with a little breach of GOD'S word it were not to be done: better it were that the whole world should perish than one jot of GOD'S truth be slipped."

But the Presbyterians desired simply to effect, by the arm of the secular law, certain important repairs in the structure, and alterations in the status, of the National Church. It was left to Browne, "the first Independent," to preach, some ten years after the Cartwright-Whitgift controversy, the revolutionary doctrine that "the Kingdom of GOD" was not to be begun "by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so few" ("True and Short Declaration"), and to demand the total rebuilding of the Church on a new foundation. Declaring war on the idea of a State Church, he attacked the Presbyterians equally with the Episcopalians:—"Sathan is that envious and malicious man which hath builded again this city (of Jericho). His eldest sons were the first beginners of this lamentable state, whom GOD did scourge and call to repentance in the time of Queen Mary and brake their enterprise: and his youngest sons are these latter reformers, whom GOD also will certainly plague except they repent."

coronation" the whole nation was "in one day received without conversion of life by faith and repentance" into the reformed Church of England, and that "the profane, ungodly multitudes without exception "of any one person are with them received into and retained in the bosom of the Church." (13) These startling assertions become intelligible when we realise that at the accession of Elizabeth out of 9,400 parish priests (many of whom were too scandalously ignorant to have any clear conception of the Christian faith at all) only, at the highest estimate, 250 resigned their benefices. In many parts of the country a sermon was the rarest of luxuries. (14) Deprived of that teaching by image and ritual which had at all events provided some kind of food for their souls, the illiterate people received no instruction whatever in the faith apart from the only half intelligible gabbling of the Liturgy by some ignorant "mass-priest." We can well believe the frequent and definite statements of contemporary Puritan writers to the effect that great numbers of the people threw off all regard for religion of any kind and often for morality and decency as well. No doubt, as the reign progressed and the "mass-priests" were gradually replaced by educated Protestant clergy, ignorance and irreligion became less wide-spread. But as late as 1585—*i.e.*, just at the time of the first rise of Independency —the author of "A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty by Way of Supplication to the High Court of Parliament For a Learned Ministry" represented the average parishioner of his day as totally uninstructed in the very elements of Christianity. (15) It was the thought of this great mass of ignorance, worldliness and open ungodliness within the fold of the State Church which moved Barrowe and Greenwood to hurl at the heads of the clergy the indignant accusation :—"You stand ministers to all the land in high sacrilege." (16)

With a sense of infinite refreshment and relief the Separatists turned from the depressing spectacle of the State Church to con-

(13) For the first quotation see Barrowe in conference with Sperin, Greenwood in conference with Hutchinson, and Barrowe's "Brief Discovery of the False Church." For the second quotation see a Separatist manifesto ("A Brief Summe of the causes of our separation") included in the 1605 edition of Barrowe's "Plain Refutation of Mr. Giffard," and reprinted in Appendix II. of Powicke's "Henry Barrow."

(14) For details with regard to conditions in the early years of the Elizabethan settlement of religion, see pp. 145-6 of Powicke's "Henry Barrow," Frere's "English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I." (Macmillan) (pp. 104-7), Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims" (Archibald Constable) (p. 92), Marsden's "Early Puritans" (Hamilton Adams and Co.) (pp. 100-102).

(15) See pp. 151-2 of Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims."

(16) Conference with Sperin and Cooper.

template " the true visible Church, which," said Smyth (17), " is the Temple of GOD, II. Corinthians vi. 16 " and " consisteth of a holy people which must come out from the unrighteous and unbelievers that are Belial even without the yoke of the Lord's ordinances, and must be a separated people." The act by which the separation was made was the taking of a solemn covenant to walk TOGETHER in the ways of the Lord (18) ; the yoke which every individual member of the Church bore was the yoke of subjection to the admonitions of his fellow-members, gathered together in Church meetings. Church fellowship was to these men and women an intensely precious thing, without which the leading of a full Christian life was impossible. Smyth was fond of arguing (19) that loving watchfulness over the spiritual life and growth of his fellow-Churchmen is an absolutely essential part of that duty of " brotherly love " which every Christian is called upon to fulfil towards other believers. He bluntly told a self-willed and eccentric clergyman :—" So long as you are not under . . . the Lord's ordinances, the censures of the Church, you shall find little rest to your soul." (20) To the same clergyman (Richard Bernard, a well-known Puritan, but a scoffing opponent of " the Separation ") John Robinson gave the following description of the " Pilgrim " Church :—(21)

" If ever you saw the beauty of Sion and the glory of the Lord filling His tabernacle, it hath been in the manifestation of divers graces of GOD in that heavenly harmony and comely order wherein by the grace of GOD we are set and walk. Wherein if your eyes had but seen the brethren's sober and modest carriage, one toward another, their humble and willing submission unto their guides in the Lord, their tender compassion towards the weak, their fervent zeal against scandalous offenders and their long suffering towards all, you would (I am persuaded) change your mind."

Now the Conformist Puritans had as strong a sense as the Separatists of the necessity for " separation " between the " saints " and the world. But with them this idea of separation did not embody itself in any ecclesiastical shape. The " Millenary " Petition contains no hint of any wish to protest against the close union of Church and State. On the contrary, it opens with an explanation that the signatories are not " aiming at the dissolution of the

(17) " Parallels " (Works, p. 364).

(18) See pp. 386-7 (with footnotes) of Dexter's " England and Holland of the Pilgrims " for several typical examples of a Church covenant.

(19) See, for instance, p. 359 of Works (" Parallels ").

(20) P. 528, Works (" Parallels ").

(21) " Justification of Separation."

state ecclesiastical" but are merely "desiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the Church." The Petitioners do indeed ask that the discipline and excommunication may be administered "according to Christ's own institution" and not "under the name of lay persons, chancellors, officials, etc.," and "that examination may go before the communion." But they were not prepared to fight even for such a half "separation" as the granting of these very moderate demands would have involved.

But the Independents were tormented by an urgent conviction that a Church which suffered within her fold persons known to be evildoers, unbelievers or indifferent to religion, thereby became so corrupt that none might hold communion with her without sharing in her pollution. (22) The dread of being involved in the apostacy of a polluted communion drove the fanatical section of the Separatists into the ultra-"High-Church" practice of "rigid "separation" from "false" Churches. The rigid separatists, whose harshness and intolerance brought early Independency into a good deal of disrepute with the charitably minded, prohibited all attendance at the preaching of any clergyman of the Church of England, however "godly" and evangelical the preacher might be. "Whatsoever company or communion of men do worship God being not of the communion "of a visible Church sin," declared Smyth, (23) and he admitted (24) that in the Church over which he presided persons persisting in "hearing the word" of Anglican ministers were excommunicated. Francis Johnson, pastor of the Church which had once numbered Barrowe amongst its members, went so far as to warn a perplexed soul that the more truth the minister of a false Church preaches the more is he to be avoided, lest his wholesome words should prove decoys to lure his hearers on into the acceptance of his errors. (25)

Over and over again the Separatist and Conformist Puritan came into sharp conflict over the question as to what constitutes a valid ministry. The two Petitions bear witness to the wide divergence of opinion on this point. The Separatist petition demands that ministers shall be elected by the Church and shall be

(22) See, for instance, Smyth's words to Richard Bernard:—"That one sin of one man publicly and obstinately stood in and not reformed by a true constituted Church doth so pollute it that none may communicate with it in the holy things of GOD till the party offending be by the Church put out after lawful conviction . . . is the most comfortable and holy truth we hold in walking one with another in communion of GOD'S ordinances. ("Parallels") (Works, p. 440). See also "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 263).

(23) "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 252).

(24) "Parallels" (Works, p. 541).

(25) Reply to Hildersham's "Letter to a Separatist Gentlewoman."

only such as are " appointed by Christ in His last will and testament " ; while the Millenary Petition confines itself to the request " that none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently." To the Conformist Puritans a man inwardly conscious of a call from Christ was a true minister provided that this inward call was ratified by those whom the law appointed to be governors of the Church, approved by the people of the parish where he ministered and attested by the conversion of souls. In conference after conference with Puritan clergymen, Barrowe and Greenwood argued with vehemence against this " Low-Church " doctrine of the ministry, maintaining steadfastly that the only entrance into the true ministry is through " the holy and free election of the Lord's holy and free people " (26) —not the parishioners of a particular parish or even a congregation assembling in a particular Church, but a people definitely " gathered" to Christ and separated from the world by a solemn covenant. (27) Those entering into the ministry by other means Barrowe compared to the " thieves and robbers " who climb into the sheepfold by " some other way " than the door. (28)

M. Dorothea Jordan.

(*To be continued.*)

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(26) " True Description of the Visible Church," reprinted in Powicke's " Henry Barrow."

(27) See Barrowe's conference with Sperin, in which the Puritan clergyman was told that, even though he had been called by the congregation to which he ministered, " They being as yet ungathered to Christ . . . neither may in this estate choose a minister nor any exercise ministry unto them without heinous sacrilege."

(28) " True Description of the Visible Church " and various conferences with Puritan clergy. See also Smyth's " Parallels " (Works, p. 353).

# Correspondence of Sir Edward Harley, K.B., and Rev. Francis Tallents

IN our last issue we promised a first instalment of an interesting correspondence between Rev. Francis Tallents, of Shrewsbury, one of the Ejected ministers of 1662, and Sir Edward Harley, K.B. This promise we are now able to fulfil; and in doing so must express our obligations to His Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G., in whose library at Welbeck the letters were found; to Mr. R. W. Goulding, F.S.A., the librarian at Welbeck; and to Rev. A. S. Langley, F.R.H.S., of Louth, by whom they have been transcribed and placed at our disposal. The correspondence altogether consists of nineteen letters of Tallents and one of Harley; but several of them have no particular interest, and are therefore omitted.

SIR EDWARD HARLEY, K.B. (1624-1700), was the eldest son of Sir Robert Harley, of Brampton Brian, Herefordshire. A colonel in the Parlimentary Army, 1644; general of horse for Herefordshire and Radnor, 1645; M.P. for Herefordshire, 1646-1656; impeached for supporting the disbanding ordinance, 1648; member of the Council of State, 1659; Governor of Dunkirk, 1660-1; and opposed the sale of Dunkirk, 1661. After the Restoration, being a strong Presbyterian, he was closely associated with several Nonconformist ministers in Herefordshire and frequently attended the ministry of Richard Baxter in London. "He vigorously opposed all the Acts for persecuting Dissenters, and the Act that made the Sacrament a civil test (1673) . . . forseeing the King (James II.) would attempt to set up Popery, he declined all manner of public employment, and neither he nor any of his family ever took any oath to that King." He sat in the First, Third and Fourth parliaments of William III. Although often spoken of as "a mortal enemy of the Church," he is called by Calamy "an ornament and support of religion." He published several theological tracts, the most important appearing in 1695, from a London press, with the title "*A Scriptural and Rational Account of the Christian Religion;* particularly concerning Justification only by the Propitiation and Redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ." This correspondence passed on Sir Edward's death to his son Robert, who forsook the principles in which he had been educated, became leader of the High Church and Tory party, and was created Earl of Oxford and

Mortimer by Queen Anne. He was the founder of the Harleian collection of books and MSS. These letters of Tallents went along with other MSS. to Welbeck Abbey in 1741 on the death of Edward, the second Earl of Oxford; for his MSS., etc., were inherited by his only daughter and heiress, Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, who in 1734 had married William Bentinck, second Duke of Portland. Most of the Harleian MSS. were transferred to the British Museum in 1759, but many historical papers and letters remain at Welbeck Abbey. The treasures of the library are only partially known to the readers of the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission.

Francis Tallents (1619-1708), eldest son of Philip Tallents, whose father, a Frenchman, accompanied Sir Francis Leake to England after saving his life, was born at Pilsley, in the Parish of North Wingfield, Derbyshire, in November, 1619. His father dying when he was fourteen, Tallents was sent by an uncle, Francis Tallents, to the free schools of Mansfield and Newark, where he was said to have "not silver, but golden talents." He entered Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1635, but removed to Magdalen College, to become sub-tutor to the sons of Theophilus, Earl of Suffolk. He graduated A.B. 1640-1 and A.M. 1645. In 1642 he travelled abroad with his pupils, and resided for a time at Samur. Upon his return he was chosen Fellow of Magdalen College, and was afterwards Senior Fellow, and President or Vice-Master of the College. He was ordained at St. Mary's Woolnoth, London, on 29th November, 1648, by the third classical Presbytery in that province. In October, 1649, he was chosen one of the twelve graduates who had power to preach without episcopal licence. In 1652, Tallents was invited by the mayor and aldermen, and urged by Baxter, to become lecturer and curate at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury. His nomination was dated 4th January, 1653, and the committee of plundered ministers added £50 to his income. In 1656 he was moderator at a public dispute about baptism in the church of Ellesmere, in Shropshire, between Thomas Porter, M.A., of Whitchurch, and Henry Haggar, Baptist minister of Stafford. It was a reference to this dispute that led to the discovery of this correspondence. At the Restoration the commissioners appointed to restore deposed ministers were petitioned to allow him to remain, his predecessor, one Prowde, concurring. On 10th October, 1661, he received confirmation of his office, but the next year was several times imprisoned in Shrewsbury Castle for preaching, and, on his refusal to receive further ordination, he was ejected in September, 1662. After that he regularly attended worship at St. Mary's, only preaching himself at different hours, and thus he escaped molestation. From February, 1670-1 to about 1674, he resided with his pupil John Hampden, the Younger, near Paris.

On his return he joined with John, eldest son of Dr. J. Bryan, in ministering to the Presbyterian congregation at Oliver Chapel, High Street, Shrewsbury. An indictment was framed against him for holding a conventicle in December, 1680, but he was able to prove an *alibi*, having spent the whole of the winter in France. He was under suspicion after Monmouth's rebellion in 1685, and was lodged in Chester Castle, but was soon released, and on the progress of James II. to Shrewbury, he joined in the presentation to the King of a purse of gold in recognition of the Indulgence of 1687. He died at Shrewsbury, on 11th April, 1708, aged nearly eighty-nine years, and was buried on the 15th, in St. Mary's Church, having composed his own epitaph. Besides a sermon preached at the funeral of Philip Henry, Tallents published the following, viz. :—

1. *A View of Universal History*, a series of chronological tables which he had engraved on sixteen copper plates in his own house. 2. *A Sure and Large Foundation*, designed to promote Catholic Christianity. A copy of this was given by him to the school library at Shrewsbury, in 1696, but the work is not otherwise known. 3. *A Short History of Schism*, for the promoting of Christian moderation. This was written in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and was answered, with great indignation, by " S.G. " *i.e.*, Samuel Grascome, in " Moderation in Fashion, or an Answer to a Treatise." Tallents wrote a reply in a manner becoming a Christian, a gentleman, and a scholar, according to Calamy, in 4. *Some few Considerations upon S.G's. Large Answer to the Short Treatise.* Grascome answered in " Schism triumphant, or a Rejoinder to a Reply."

## Letter from Tallents to Sir E. Harley, K.B.

(1) Salop. Oct. 19, 1689. Sends a MS. entitled: "If Persons ordain'd by Presbyters may be received as Min^rs of Christ amongst us without a new Ordination or imposition of hands by some of our Diocesan B^ps. This hath been done; This may be done according to o^r B^ps principles; This ought to be done now."

(2) Salop. Aprill 16: 1695.

Hon^d Sir,

I am very glad to heare that some in London are promoteing a Contribution for our good Mr. Taylor,[1] a Nonconformist Minister, and that you are pleased to enquire concerning him.

What you are Informed of him is very true and I know not a greater and more deserveing object of Charity (of that kind) then He, for this 42 yeares that I have been in this County, Mr. Bryan[2] and I have knowne him a savoury holy ingenious man and a good preacher; and I knew him before a godly studious youth in the University. His House with his Bookes and goods were burnt in the ffire at Wem ab^t 17 yeares agoe. He is not quite blind, but his sight is soe farr gone that he cannot Read any thing to any purpose with the help of any Spectacles, yet Continues to preach tho' he be also weake and sickly. His Loveing usuall Hearers are soe poore that they can give him little, scearce 6^l a yeare, and his supplies from other places are inconsiderable, and his straites are very great. His wife is Liveing and 9 of his Children (some of which his Christian ffreinds help'd him to put out) yet none of them able to helpe him much if at all and some of them yet depend on him.

These things are generally knowne and that he is in debt, and I know he owes above 25[l] besides other smaller matters that I know not.

And S[r] if the Journey was not soe farr I would upon some little Concernes have come to London and have done my best with some persons of note there, and particularly with yo[r] honoured ffreinds Mr. Hampden and Mr. Boscawen,[3] for his effectuall Releife that he might not sink under his Burthen. But Blessed be God I hope it is in better hands and that through your Incouragem[t] which you will Condiscend to give for yo[r] Blessed Lord's sake it will have a good effect.

Good Mr. Bryan Recomends him to you as I doe p[r]sente his most humble service to you ; is Recovered in a good Measure, preached this day as hee hath done for 2 or 3 Months.

Wee begg S[r] the Continueance of yo[r] life & health, a Blessing on yo[r] endeavors for God both in greater & Lesser and a great Reward from him to you, & all others that ffaithfully serve him.

I am, w[th] much Respect, Honoured S[r], Yo[r] most humble & most obedient servant,

Fra : Tallents.

Yo[r] son M[r] Harley will accept of my humble service. I hope S[r] you Continue yo[r] kindnesse for young Mr. Hampden.[4]

I pray S[r] Lett yo[r] man Informe me what this Colleccon shall come to, for he may easily be acquainted of it.

[Addressed : "These To the Hon[ble] S[r] Edward Harley, a Member of the House of Comons in Westminster."]

(3) Wem, Frid : June 28, 95.

S[r],

I lately heard by M[r] Edward Harley[5] that you was pleased to promote a collection for Rev : M[r] Samuel Taylor of this Countie ; God reward y[t] your work & labour of love. I think fit to acquaint you that it hath

pleased God to take him from us to his rest early on Wedn : morning last, & I am now at Wem to shew my true respects to him at his funerall, & to his poor desolate widow, who is left overwhelm'd with debt as well as sorrow. Your kindness, & other her frends, I hope will be continued, & I send this to desire you to finish that good work, & not let it fall upon y^e^ report of his decease. I pray you, let me know what you shall have collected, & let it be returned to his widow as she shall direct.

I am S^r^ Your very respective frend & servant in o^r^ Bl : Lord,

FRA. TALLENTS.

A letter directed to me in Salop will come to my hands.

[Addressed : "These For my honoured Frend Mr. Fisher, London." Fisher sent the letter to Sir Edward Harley.]

(4) Sir Edward Harley to the Rev. Francis Tallents.

Kinge Street, Bloomesbery, July 2^d^ 1695.

S^r^,

By yo^rs^ of June y^e^ 28 to M^r^ Fisher[6] Certified The Death of M^r^ Taylor. The money Collected and Contributed for him by M^r^ Fisher was fourteen pounds and five shillings Sealed vp in a browne paper with a Letter Directed to yo^r^self, all which was Delivered about a week since to Madam Beal[7] who promised to Convey it safe to yo^r^ self at Salop so that I hope it will be Comsortable Reliefe for M^r^ Taylor's Desolate widdow.

It pleased God Last week to visit my son Harley with a Dangerous Inflamation in his Throate, but through Gratious mercy hee is in a good way of Recouery. M^r^ Richard Hampden[8] is at Bath, as I hear Receiues Benefit by Drinking of those waters. His son is in this Town not well. I Beseech M^r^ Brian to Accept y^e^ affectionat Service of, S^r^, Y^r^ most humble servant,

EDW. HARLEY.

(5) F. T. to Sir E. H.

Salop, July 29, 95.

(After thanking Sir Edward for a book he had written and given to him, Tallents proceeds :—)

Yong M^r^ Henry,[9] who is Min^r^ in Chester, told me that on Lord's day sevenight, M^r^ Weld,[10] who succeeded M^r^ Mather[11] in Dublin, preach'd an Excell^t^ Sermon for him ; and sais, one end of his journey to London was to endeavour to unite M^r^ Williams[12] & M^r^ Mather, being well acquainted with both, but especially y^e^ latter. God prosper such endeavours.

I have received the 14^li.^ 5^s^ from Madam Beal ; when she opened y^e^ paper to pay it to be return'd to me, y^e^ Person y^t^ was to receive it, refused 16^s^ as bad, w^ch^ she (good Gentlewoman) made good, & will make y^e^ best of what was refused. I have paid it as M^rs^ Taylor ordred (w^ch^ I think she did in the best way) & have help'd her to 17^l^ more, which may help her to pay her debts & subsist a little. Good M^r^ Fisher sent me a kind letter with it, for whose great illness I am very sorry.

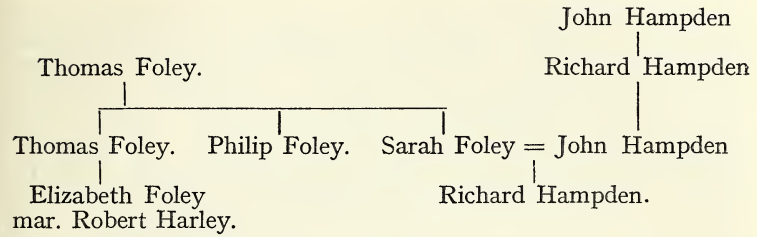
1. Samuel Taylor (1672-95), Matriculated as pensioner at Magdalen College, Cambridge, in 1645, B.A., 1648-9 ; Curate at Edstastion, then a chapelry in the parish of Wem. Though in very low circumstances, with a wife and many children, he quitted his living in 1662, choosing rather to beg his bread than wrong his conscience. He continued in Wem, and preached then as his strength and liberty would permit. Licensed as Presbyterian to preach in his own house at Wem, 8th May, 1672. His house was burnt down, with nearly half the town, in 1676. In the survey of 1691 the report concerning him was " maintenance next to nothing." He received from the Presbyterian Fund £6 per annum from 1690 to 94, and £5 in 1695, in which year he died on June 26th. Philip Henry preached his funeral sermon from II. Corinthians iv. 7

2. John Bryan, was the eldest son of Dr. John Bryan, of Coventry. Admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 10th January, 1643-4, aged sixteen ; removed to Peterhouse, 3rd December, 1644 ; B.A., 1647 ; M.A., 1657 ; became domestic chaplain to the Earl of Stamford and lecturer at Loughborough ; Vicar of Holy Cross (the Abbey Church), Shrewsbury, 1652 ;

minister of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, 27th March, 1659; ejected 1662. He was twice imprisoned for preaching before 1666. He removed, under the Five Mile Act, to Shifnel, Salop; visited Shrewsbury congregation by night. Received in 1672, a general licence as a teacher, and special ones for the houses of Charles Doughty, Salop, 13th May, and Elizabeth Hunt, 10th June. In 1683, he was fined £40 for preaching. Tallents became his colleague at High Street, in 1674. Their ministry was much disturbed until 1687. Died, 31st August, 1699, and was buried in St. Chad's Churchyard.

3. Hugh Boscawen, who, in 1720, was raised to the peerage as Baron Boscawen and Viscount Falmouth. Died, 25th October, 1734. The leading Cornish politician of his time in the Whig interest. In 1671, Tallents had with him in France a pupil called Boscawen, but unfortunately he died of the smallpox at Strasburgh.

4. John Hampden, the Younger (1656-1696). Second son of Richard Hampden. In 1671, went to France to travel under the tutorship of Tallents. February and August, 1679, elected M.P. for Bucks. Played a very insignificant part in Parliament. Left England for sake of his health in 1680, and remained in France till September, 1682. Elected in his absence in 1681 member for Wendover, and his father took his place as member for the county. While in France got into trouble with the French Court, who suspected Hampden of intrigues with the Protestants there, and at the same time the English Ambassador thought he was carrying on some secret negotiation with the agents of Louis XIV, on behalf of the English opposition. Condemned for complicity in the Rye House Plot. Committed to the Tower and fined £40,000. After Monmouth's rebellion he was charged with high treason. Pleaded guilty and threw himself on the mercy of the King, because his condemnation was absolutely certain. Sentenced to death. The King was content with his humiliation and fine of £6,000. He had stooped to supplication which saved him and his house to him but from that moment he never knew peace of mind. In 1689, he represented Wendover in the Convention Parliament. He supported the granting of indulgences to Nonconformists, and opposed the provision in the Toleration Act, which restricted its benefits to Trinitarians. Failed to secure re-election for Bucks, on 10th December, 1696, cut his throat, dying two days later. He married twice, his first wife being Sarah Foley, daughter of Thomas Foley, of Witley Court, Worcestershire, and widow of Essex Knightley, of Fawsley, Northants, by whom he had issue Richard (the "dear son" of the letter 13th June, 1696) and Letitia. She was the sister of Philip Foley mentioned in the letter of 6th April, 1696. She was also aunt of Elizabeth Foley, wife of Robert Harley (Sir Edward's elest son). In pedigree form it would appear thus :—




Hampden's first wife died in 1687. His second wife was Anne Cornwallis, by whom he had two children John and Anne. She is the Madame Hampden of the letter 13th June, 1696.

5. Edward Harley (1664-1735), second son of Sir Edward. Educated at Westminister School; Barrister of Middle Temple; Auditor of Imprest; Acted in Revolution of 1688; Recorder of Leominster, 1692; M.P. for Leominster, 1698-1722; one of the Executors of Richard Baxter and along with his father an original trustee of the Charity founded by Philip, Lord Wharton. Published anonymously, in 1733, *A Harmony of the Gospels.*

6. Samuel Fisher, son of Thomas Fisher, of Stratford-on-Avon. Born, 1617, and educated at Oxford. Matriculated at Queen's College, 1634; graduating at Magdalen College, B.A., 1636; M.A., 1640. He took holy orders, and officiated at St. Bride's, London, at Withington, Salop, and at Shrewsbury, where he was curate to Thomas Blake. Both were turned out for not taking the Engagement against the King and the House of Lords in 1650. He afterwards held the Rectory of Thornton-in-the-Moor, Cheshire, until the Ejectment. He spent the rest of his life at Birmingham, where he died, "leaving the character of an ancient divine, an able preacher, and of a godly life." In 1672, by petition to the King he applied for a licence as a teacher, and also for licences for his own house and the Town Hall as meeting places. These were granted, except the Town Hall, and later he applied in vain for one for "the Scool House." He published three of his sermons.

7. Probably the widow of William Beal, who was ejected, in 1662, from the Rectory of Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire. Calamy is wrong in saying that he died in London not long after his ejectment. Beal applies for, and, through Joshua Churchill, receives licence to preach in his own house at Cripplegate in 1672. His will, proved April 14th, 1679, shows that his family belonged to the city of Gloucester and that he was living, seven years after obtaining his licence, in 3, King's Court, Whitecross St., London.

8. Richard Hampden (1631-95). Second son of the great John Hampden. In 1656 returned to Cromwell's second parliament, as member for Bucks. One of the members of Cromwell's House of Lords, M.P., for Bucks in 1681 and 1690. Wendover, 1660, 1661, 1679, and in the Convention Parliament of 1689. A strong Presbyterian, he befriended many ejected ministers. In 1665, R. Baxter found refuge at Great Hampden, and describes Richard, his host, as " the true heir of his famous father's sincerity, piety, and devotedness to God." Hampden first became prominent in politics by his zealous advocacy of the Exclusion Bill, and of a full investigation into the popish plots. In the convention Parliament he seconded the proposal that William of Orange should be asked to undertake the government pending the settlement of the succession.

On February 14th, 1689, appointed a Privy Councillor. In April of the same year became one of the Commissioners to the Treasury. March 18th, 1690, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Resigned 1694. It is said that King William offered him a peerage and a pension. He is reported to have replied " that he would die a country gentleman of ancient family as he was, which was honour enough for him, that he had always spoken against giving pensions to others, and at such a time it was oppressive, whilst he had a roll or a can of beer he would not accept sixpence of the money of the nation."

9. Matthew Henry (1662-1714), born at Broad Oak, Flint. Second son of Philip Henry, M.A. Entered, 1680, the academy of Thomas Doolittle. Admitted Gray's Inn, 1685. On 9th May, 1687, he was ordained by the presbyters in London, and began his ministry at Chester. One of the founders of the Cheshire Classes. A meeting-house was erected for him in Crook Lane in 1700 ; a gallery was added to accommodate the Independents in 1706 ; Daniel Williams named him as a trustee to his foundation, but he did not live to enter on the trust. Removed to Mare St., Hackney, London, in 1912. Died on a visit to Nantwich, and was buried in Trinity Church, Chester. His greatest work was his " *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments.*" He got no further than the Acts, leaving his notes on the remainder in a very imperfect state. It was completed by thirteen Nonconformist Divines after his death.

10. Nathaniel Weld (1660-1730). Independent minister at Eustace St., Dublin, and grandfather of Isaac Weld (1710-78) his successor.

11. Samuel Mather (1626-1671), born at Much Woolton in Lanceshire. His father Richard Mather emigrated to New England in 1635. Samuel had his education at Harvard College, and was

the first Fellow of that College who took his degree there. Returning to England in 1650, he became Chaplain of Magdalen College, Oxford, by the favour of Thomas Goodwin, who was then President. He frequently preached at St. Mary's. Took his degrees, by incorporation, both at Oxford and Cambridge. Attended the Parliamentary Commissioners to Scotland, 1653; he went to Ireland with Lord Henry Cromwell. Was made a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and again took his degree, 1654; ordained at Dublin, 1656; curate at Burton Wood, Lancashire, 1660; ejected, 1662; erected meeting house in New Row, Dublin, 1662. His successor, on his death, was his younger brother, Nathaniel Mather, M.A. (Harvard.) He wrote several works, including one entitled "*An Irenicum, in order to an Agreement between Presbyterians Independents, and Anabaptists.*" This was published in 1680, in London, after his death. Is this the one Tallents refers to in his letter of October 11th, 1700?

12. Daniel Williams (1643-1716). Born at Wrexham, in the county of Denbigh. He declares in his preface to "*A Defence of Gospel Truth,*" that from five years old he had no employment besides his studies; and adds, that before nineteen, he was regularly admitted a preacher. Chaplain to the Countess of Meath, 1664; preached at Drogheda; joint minister of Wood St., Dublin, 1667-87; Presbyterian minister at Hand Alley, Bishopgate, London, 1687-1716. Succeeded R. Baxter as Merchant's Lecturer at Pinner's Hall. Published, in 1692 "*A Defence of Gospel Truth,*" founded on his lecturers and giving rise to controversy because of his handling of Antinomianism. He founded the Salter's Hall Lectureship in 1694; opposed the bill against occasional conformity in 1704; Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities both sent him their D.D. diploma in 1709; he headed the deputation of Protestant Dissenting Ministers which presented an address of congratulation to King George I., on his accession, 1714. He was a man of substance, which came to him chiefly through his wives. He left large sums to be devoted mainly to scholastic and reglious purposes. His extensive library formed the nucleus of the "Dr. Williams' Library."

## The Lofty Bishop, The Lazy Brownist, and the Loyal Author

(From a volume of Broadsides in the British Museum. Pressmark 669 f. 8. 32.)

### 1. The Bishop Sings

What would yee lazie Brownists have ;
You rage and runne away,
And cry us downe, our Church, and eke
the forme therein we pray.
Oh Monstres great ! Abortive sonnes
Your Mother to forsake.
To church you doe refraine to come,
Your prayers there to make
You will admit no governement
in Church at all to stand.
Without the which, would soon be seene
Strange errors in the land.
You do assume yourselves to be
More holy than all people ;
Therefore 'mongst all you will not come
to pray in Church or steeple.
You'l speake as faire and soberly,
You will protest in speech,
With eyes and hands eke lifted up,
Yet will us overreach.
You doe presume, you have no sinne,
And that you have the spirit ;
And though you cozen and deceive,
You heaven shall inherit
O fie upon your idle life !
how dare you zeale pretend,
To loyter here, and there all day,
a prating life to spend.
What separatist in your Rout
makes conscience of all sinnes,
And in his calling paines doth take
so soone as day beginnes ?

## 2. The Brownist Sings

Your lofty Lordship tearmes us lazie
and runagadoes too ;
But I could wish you Bishops would
but labour as we doe.
Sure yee be monsters, for such members
of Christ his Church as yee
I have not read of in God's word
allowed by him to be
Then you must rather be out of Christ,
and in his church impostors,
For Christ allows you Lordships none,
if you will be his Pastors.
You did presume, you were cockesure,
and in your glory firme,
Christ's little flock to tyrannize,
with countenance full stearne.
The Apostles of our Saviour Christ
you pleade you doe succede ;
And yet would starve those soules which they
did labour for to feede.
Though with your mouth you Rome deny,
yet still her wayes you take ;
A strumpet you confess she is,
yet doe her not forsake.
How dare you, who appointed are
to Preach God's holy word,
Sit in pompe and presume to bear
in hand the temporall sword ?
Is any Pastor made a Lord,
but soone's from preaching taken ?
Yea, though he laboured much before,
this makes all be forsaken.

### 3. The Author Laments

Here's lazie Brownists, lofty Bishops,
and both accuse each other
As runagadoes, Monsters eke,
unto the Church their Mother.
And yet were both bread up by her,
and yet Church Monsters too ;
The one would quite forsake the Church,
the other would her undoe.
But now the Parliament no doubt
these Monsters will destroy ;
Or else will set them such a forme
whereby the Church may joy.
The one in pride, the other in
conceited puritie
Doth trouble both the Church and State
such Monsters for to see
Whilst one dissembles, th' other doth
affirm vaine things for truth ;
Whilst one in pomp his time doth wast
the other it spends in sloth ;
Whilst both doe wander from the way
wherein the Church of God
Directed is by him to walk,
both other paths have trod.
The Brownists noses want a Ring
(to draw them with a Rope ;)
The Prelate's wings do cutting neede,
(least they fly to the Pope.)
That so the one in Church may Preach
Gods word, the other heare ;
That both may honour God, and eke
his lawes may love, and feare.

Printed *Ann. Dom.* 1640.

# THE
# Congregational Historical Society

**(FOUNDED 1899).**

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*President:* Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D.

*Chairman:* Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., Litt.D.,
Miltona, Riley Avenue, St. Anne's-on-Sea.

*Treasurer:* H. A. Muddiman, Esq.,
79, The Avenue, Higham's Park, London, E. 4.

*Editorial Secretary:* Rev. T. G. Crippen,
The Library, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C. 4.

*General Secretary:* Rev. Wm. Pierce,
33, Handsworth Avenue, E. 4.

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# Congregational Historical Society

# Transactions

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# EDITORIAL

LONDON, *September*, 1923.

AS this is the last issue of the *Transactions* which will appear under the editorship of our venerable friend, the Rev. T. G. Crippen, the honourable duty has been assigned me of writing the necessary editorial notes in his stead. It enables me in the first place, on behalf of the Society, to recognize with gratitude the many years of service which he has rendered us as our Editorial Secretary. His competency for this post was obvious from the beginning. All who have made use of the Congregational Library for research into the history of Congregationalism or of early Nonconformity generally, must have at once discovered how extended and yet how exact and particular was his knowledge of the literature of their subject. But Mr. Crippen has not only the librarian's and bibliographer's knowledge of his books, but a scholar's acquaintance with their contents and their authors. This exceptional knowledge of the older Theology of Nonconformity and its literature, and his keenness and unwearying industry in research, made him the most competent Literary Secretary for our Society that could have been found within the ranks of Congregationalism. And we cannot part with him in this capacity without recording our indebtedness to him for his gratuitous and most efficient service to the Society.

* * * *

But we have not only to record the close of Mr. Crippen's editorship; we have also to welcome the advent of Dr. Albert Peel, who will take over both Mr. Crippen's duties and my own, an arrangement which will have many practical advantages. This combination of related duties is possible under Dr. Peel. His capacity for editorship might naturally be taken for granted, from his appointment to the responsible post of editor of the *Congregational Quarterly*. But he had earlier given proof of his special gifts in his edition of *A Seconde Parte of a Register*, which is an exemplary work, both in the arrangement of its material and in the learning and research shown in its notes and elucidations. Dr. Peel also possesses, in a degree denied to his predecessors, the gift of administration and management. I only regarded my own tenure of office as an emergency arrangement; but it had to be continued for a good many years. Now that Dr. Peel takes

up the work of the secretaryship, we can look forward to the prosperity of the Society with much confidence.

* * * *

The May Meeting of the Society was made noteworthy by the presence of Professor Claude Jenkins, the Archbishop's Librarian at Lambeth, who read a most interesting paper, and has added to his most generous service by permitting it to be printed in our *Transactions*. The Library under Professor Jenkins's care is the most valuable collection of books and manuscripts in existence, for the purposes of the student of English Ecclesiastical History; and for the special needs of the historian of English Nonconformity, it has some excellencies which naturally no other library can share. And to add to it all, the courtesy and helpfulness of its learned Librarian make it a pleasure to work at Lambeth. Professor Jenkins's appearance at a gathering of the Congregational Historical Society is not only evidence of his own kindness and catholicity. It is a sign of the times. And concerning his paper, I would add, that the evidence it gives of Dr. Whitgift's serious religious character and his constant and whole-hearted devotion to his Church, we accept fully. The Archbishop had many virtues, virtues not too common in the Elizabethan hierarchy. And he was, to boot, an out and out evangelical in theology, and had most liberal views in regard to the ministry. If he had not been a convinced persecutor, he would have been the most attractive personality of the Elizabethan Church.

* * * *

The Programme of the Society's engagements in connection with the October meetings of the Congregational Union at Northampton, the first under Dr. Peel's direction, is clearly the most attractive that has been offered to the members for years past. I hope the engagements of the Society will be a conspicuous success, and greatly advance its interests. Sir Rylands Atkins, K.C., D.L., M.P., a Northampton man, can be trusted to give a brilliant account of the saintly Dr. Doddridge as a preacher. And Mr. Hugh N. Dixon, M.A., F.L.S., for many years a deacon of the Church, in his quiet scholarly way, will not miss any picturesque or quaint entry in the old Doddridge Church Books. Then, under Mr. Dixon's guidance, an Exhibition has been organized which will be unique of its kind, and should by no means be missed. The meeting will be held at Doddridge Memorial Church —which is in the St. James' district, on the west side of the Railway Station—on Wednesday, October 3rd, at 3 p.m.

* * * *

The unveiling of the Memorial to Robert Browne in the churchyard of St. Giles's Church, Northampton, on a day to be

announced, when an address will be delivered by Dr. J. D. Jones, of Bournemouth, will be a function of the greatest importance to the Congregational world. It marks a trend in the amenities of inter-denominational relations, which should gladden all hearts. It also marks, though this can only be mentioned with some little shame, the recognition by Congregationalists of the eminence of their illustrious founder. Never was a great historical personage so buried beneath a weight of slander and misrepresentation. Fortunately, some twenty years ago or more, the Rev. F. Ives Cater, then a young student from New College, settled at Oundle ; and being of a studious and enquiring mind, he began to interest himself in the career of the Founder of English Congregationalism. The results of Mr. Cater's persevering researches, though I believe they have never had the slightest official recognition, contained in the excellently written series of articles to be found in the second and third volumes of our *Transactions*, are the most important contribution made in recent years to the history of Congregationalism. They have vindicated the character and standing of the genius who, transcending the moral conceptions of his age, gave to the world the truth that democracy is integral to Christianity, and that full religious liberty was of the essence of the faith of Christ. The unveiling of the monument to Robert Browne is a milestone in the history of our Churches.

* * * *

Mr. B. Cozens-Hardy, who is one of the secretaries of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, contributed to the printed Proceedings of that society a paper on " The First Seventy Years of Guestwick Independent Church," an off-print of which, making a pamphlet of 20 pp., has come to my hands. I value it very highly ; it makes excellent reading. Guestwick is a village about eighteen miles, as the crow flies, to the north-west of Norwich, a considerable distance in the years long before railways or motor-cars were dreamt of. All the more significant is it that the Old Meeting Congregational Church at Norwich sent two representatives to be present at the formation of the new Church of their order at Guestwick. So says the entry in the Old Meeting House Church Book, under date 5 Sept., 1652. Mr. Cozens-Hardy gives us a brief account of the first minister, Richard Worts, a man well worth knowing. He was apparently for a time Rector of Foulsham, and also minister of the Independent Meeting at Guestwick. But after Black Bartholomew he showed his faith by choosing the path of suffering, for years enduring the filthy imprisonment accorded at the time to Nonconformists. We have glimpses of the life of the little Church ; among other things, a record of a day of humiliation and prayer, when Sister Lydia Codling was, for grave reasons, " cast out of y$^{e}$ Church," and

the minister delivered a solemn discourse. After the sentence was pronounced, the plain old record states, " all present were greatly affected and hardly a drye eye in ye whole meeting." Mr. Cozens-Hardy tells his story with an easy simplicity which hides its skill, and makes his pamphlet all too brief. A charming photogravure is added of the old Guestwick Communion Plate.

* * * *

Our readers may have seen in the religious papers the announcement that, by the kindness of Mrs. Turner, the papers of the late Professor G. Lyon Turner, including valuable transcripts from records and registries relating to the religious life of London and a number of English and Welsh shires, during the Commonwealth and the Restoration, have been deposited at Dr. Williams's Library. Students of Nonconformity will be grateful to Mrs. Lyon Turner for making this valuable material easily accessible.

William Pierce.

## An Elizabethan Episcopal Register

IT is related of one of the most magnificent of English deans that having on the occasion of a great ecclesiastical gathering proceeded up the nave of his abbey church with an archbishop on either side, himself in the midst, he spoke subsequently of venturing as a presbyter to address the Fathers of the Church of God. Remembering the declaration of the Congregational Union at Hull in 1889, that your pastors are bishops, a simple presbyter who belongs to the ranks of what authority as well ecclesiastical as civil has frequently called " the inferior clergy " might hesitate in addressing your right reverend paternities, to use the designation which a mediæval clerk would have adopted as usual in such a case. I would prefer rather to speak to your Historical Society as a brother student of history, a field in which the humblest may have something to contribute when once he has learnt to use a spade, if only he have eyes to see what he has turned up, and laying aside prejudice, or at least allowing weight to his consciousness of its existence within him and around him, will endeavour to be a faithful reporter of what he has seen and to understand and correlate the results of his exploration.

It has seemed to me that it might perhaps be interesting to others as well as to myself if I were to try to describe some features of ecclesiastical records of the latter part of the sixteenth century. It may be a dangerous temerity to choose a period which has been the subject of far wider study in regard to printed sources than I have ever been able to give, and of embittered controversy for which I have the strongest natural distaste. Controversy has often led to investigation, and investigation has often produced results of permanent value as materials for forming a judgment ; but judgment is, and will remain, one-sided, unless we have the grace to invite the co-operation of that Christian charity which the entrance of controversy usually succeeds in frightening from the room. It is not enough that we should judge the sixteenth century by the standards of the twentieth or of the first ; we must, if our estimate is to be just, endeavour, even if the effort be great, to see things as the men of the sixteenth century saw them, and from more than one side. Few of us would claim to understand our own age, and, though distance may lend enchantment to the view and a certain detachment is necessary for impartiality, there are far greater disadvantages than we always remember in being separated by some centuries from a period which we are studying. I propose

to speak chiefly of official and for the most part unprinted records of the primacy of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury (1583–1604), for three reasons apart from limitation of time. In the first place most of the printed material available is already known to you in Dr. H. M. Dexter's extraordinarily valuable book "The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as Seen in its Literature,"(1) and in subsequent studies by others in the forty years which have elapsed since the publication of his volume in 1880. Secondly, because it seems unlikely that Whitgift's papers and records as a whole will ever be published—at least in the lifetime of any of us here—for the three great volumes of the Register alone contain 1,133 folios, or more than 2,250 pages of between forty and fifty lines to the page. And thirdly, because I would fain hope that what I say may suggest to some of you a field in which something may be gleaned, even where Strype has reaped, and that judging of the possibilities of other registers and papers from what is said of one section, students may be induced to give more attention than they do to the great series both of Registers and Chartæ Miscellaneæ deposited in the Muniment Room at Lambeth, and placed gladly and freely by the Archbishop at the disposal of all qualified students in Lambeth Library for the purpose of historical research.

There is one general characteristic of the Registers at Lambeth which is well known and yet is not sufficiently appreciated. They are provincial and not merely diocesan. The record of the actual consecration of a bishop will occupy perhaps nine to twenty-three lines in each case : the recital of the forms by which secular and ecclesiastical lawyers have sought to secure that all things shall be done decently and in order may fill in the sixteenth century a dozen pages. In the vacancy of the see the whole of the ordinary administration of the diocese will devolve upon the Archbishop as metropolitan or upon persons delegated by him. The records of that administration equally in Surrey, or in the remotest parts of Pembrokeshire or Cornwall will normally, therefore, be found entered in the Provincial Register. Whether or not it will yield matter of interest for the student of the religious life of the country may seem to be a matter of chance, and sometimes the search may be as tedious as the turning over of Assize rolls in the Public Record Office ; but one may be allowed to bear witness that in neither case has it always gone unrewarded.

There will also not infrequently be commissions to enquire into the state of dioceses or cathedrals during the vacancy of a see, and articles of enquiry during a metropolitical visitation, of which the character may be judged from the great collection edited

(1) London : Hodder & Stoughton [1880].

by Dr. Frere for the Alciun Club. More interesting still sometimes will be the letters of the Archbishop to the Bishops bidding them make enquiry and to make return of the clergy in their dioceses, with note of their intellectual attainments and spiritual abilities that he " may be the better furnished to govern."(2) The consequent returns have been bound up in many cases in the enormous volumes of Chartæ Miscellaneæ, and it is permissible to urge that they deserve to be studied side by side with Dr. Peel's admirable edition of " The Seconde Parte of a Register,"(3) to which I have found myself turning again and again and never without instruction and interest. In one case, as many know from Strype, the Register itself contains the Archbishop's " Orders for the better increase of learninge in the inferior Ministers and for more diligent preachinge and Catechisinge " in 1587.(4).

" Everie minister havinge cure and beinge under the degrees of mr of arte and Bach. [*fol.* 131b] of Lawe and not licensed to be a publique preacher shall before the second daye of ffebruarie next provide a bible and Bullingers decades in latin or Englishe and a paper booke and shall everie daye reade over one chaptre of the holie scriptures and note ye Principall contentes thereof breiflie in his paper booke and shall everie weeke read over one Sermon in the said Decades and note likewise the cheife matters therein conteyned in the said paper and shall once in everie quarter (viz. within a fortnight before or after the ende of the quarter) shewe his said note to somme preacher nere adioyninge to be assigned for that purpose.

"Then the Bushope Archdeacon or other Ordinarie beinge a publique preacher shall appoint certain grave and learned preachers who shall privatlie examine the diligence and vewe the notes of the said ministers assigninge sixe or seaven ministers as occacion shall require, to everie such preacher that shalbe next adioyning to him so as the ministers be not driven to travill for the exhibitinge of their notes above six or seaven miles (if it may be)."

Certificates of performance are to be sent to the Archdeacon or to the Bishop himself and equal care is taken as to diligence in catechizing and ability to perform it.

It may be said, and no doubt with truth, that it is one thing to make regulations and another to secure obedience to them, and so Whitgift and also some of the bishops themselves found. But what it is fair to remember is that the returns shew a genuine frankness in stating the true position so far as it could be ascertained. We may take examples of favourable as well as of unfavourable returns, especially as it is not always remembered that fairness demands this. Thus Alexander Nowell *status* married *ordo* minister *gradus* M.A. *qualitas* " gravis, prudens et sobrius " *eruditio* a man learned in every kind of letters, rector of

(2) Reg. Whitgift, i. 90b.
(3) Cambridge University Press, 1915.
(4) Reg. Whitgift, i. 131*ab*.

Hadham Magna and Dean of St. Paul's; and Robert Key, B.A., Vicar of Ware, " gravis et sobrius," and laudably versed in things sacred and human(5), are to be found followed by others of less learning and some of none, a real effort being made so far as one can judge to appraise them fairly. This illustration is in a record probably to be dated in 1576, and, therefore, strictly outside the period with which we are dealing. Another, which may belong to Grindal's time, relates to the Archdeaconry of Leicester: Baldwin Dereham, parson of Goodby, is " understanding in the Latin tonge but lackinge iudgmt in the Scriptures " ; John Bringhurst, parson of Waltham, is one " knowing the Latine tonge indifferentlie and reasonably entred in the knowledge of the Scriptures " ; Richard Woodward, Vicar of Peatling Magna, ordered by B. Bonner, is " mere ignorant in the Scriptures and Latine tonge " ; Robert Hampton, vicar of Shakerston, is " reasonably well learned in the Latine tonge and in the Scriptures an hable man and teacher in his owne charge " ; while the next man, the parson of Newbold, is " resident," but also " mere ignorant."(6) Take one undoubtedly of Whitgift's time—a return from the diocese of Oxford—important as giving not only dates of ordination, etc., as well as character, but other details. If John Oliver, curate of Chalgrove, is " weake in learning " and the parson of Sendcombe is " sufficient in learning, but scandalouse in behaviour," there are many others who are " sufficient " and a few who are " tollerable." The official did not award high classes, and his return ends with a significant note: " The last Bushope of Oxon did order none to our knowledge. Nether was their anie deprived for insufficiency in his tyme or since."(7)

There is a general insistence upon the things which matter most, such as diligence in study of the Scriptures and in the performance of duty, as great as any Puritan would have desired. Nor can anyone who reads Whitgift's repeated censures of the abuses of excommunication and the grounds upon which it was inflicted, fail to recognize that he was as keenly aware of the tyranny and vexatious exactions of minor legal officials as he found them difficult to control. And the same may be said of the abuses connected with the commutation of penances for money payments.

It is no part of the purpose of this lecture to serve as an apology, nor even to enquire how far Whitgift's position was representative of the mind of the Church of England then or now. But it may be of interest, as an indication of what may be found in a Register to refer to the case of certain Ministers of Sussex in 1583, reproduced, though not quite accurately, in Strype. (8) It is unnecessary to

(5) MSS. Lamb. *Chart. Misc.* xii. No. 1.
(6) *Chart. Misc.* xii. No. 4.
(7) *Ibid.* No. 3.
(8) *The Life and Acts of . . . John Whitgift, D.D.* (London, 1718), pp. 129, 30.

labour the fact that the age of Elizabeth was an age of insistence upon the requirement of uniformity in public worship, so far as it might be had. We live in a generation which does not love uniformity, and especially an uniformity imposed by authority. The English clergyman of Whitgift's time who read his Decades as he was bidden, in English, would have learnt that they " are very fools and godless people, or, to use a more gentle term, they are shuttle-witted, and ignorant of all good things, whose stomachs do rise at the ceremonies that God hath taught, and whose ears are offended to hear a sober and godly treatise upon the exposition of those divine ceremonies."(9) And this sentiment may well have appeared worthy of careful note in the paper book in which he entered the fruits of his reading for inspection by authority. But there were some who doubted what ceremonies might mean, especially when there was required of them subscription to the " boocke of Commond prayer set fourth and allowed by the lawes and statutes of this Realme."(10) In December, 1583, eight of the Sussex ministers—William Hopkins, vicar of Salehurste, Samuell Norden, parson of Hamsey, Anthoney Hobson, vicar of Leemister, Thomas Underdowne, parson of St. Maries in Lewes, John German, vicar of Burfeham, Richard Wheataker, vicar of Ambreley, John Bingham, Preacher of Hodeleigh, and Thomas Helye, Preacher of Warbleton, appeared before Archbishop Whitgift, the Bishops of London, Sarum and Rochester, and Gabriell Goodman, dean of Westminster, and being required to subscribe.

" Alleaged that there were certeyne Rubrickes in the said booke wherin ther was conteyned some ambiguity or doubte which moved them to enquire of the said most reverend father and the rest affore-named the interpretacion of the said Rubrickes, which being made and geiven accordingly the said most Reverend and the rest declared and signified unto them that (touching the Rubrickes wch they thought doubtfull and named unto the said reverend fathers) their subscription was not required to anie other sence then such as was not against the word of god and agreeable to the substance of Religion now professed in this Church of England and by law established and according to the analogie of faith. And that ther subscription is most (*sic*, for ' not ') to be extended to anie thing not expressed in the said boocke. And hereuppon they did voluntaryly subscribe."

To this is appended the objections that they raised and the explanations given to them.

" The Rubrickes in the former Acte specified and wch they named unto us and made ther doubties of was that in the latter ende of the preface set before the Catechisme in the Communion boocke in theise

(9) *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, " Parker Society " (Cambridge University Press, 1850) iii. v. 129.
(10) Reg. Whitgift, i. 349.

woordes And that noe man shall thincke that anie detriment shall Come to childerne by deferringe of ther Confirmacion he shall knowe for trewth that yt is certeyne by godes worde that Childerne beinge baptised have all thinges necessarie for there salvacion and be undoubtedlie saved. Uppon wch wordes they moved this doubt whether by these woordes the boocke confirmed this opinion that the sacrament of Baptisme did of ytself Conferre grace Tam quam ex opere operato that is, that whosoever is baptised must of necessity be saved ex opere operato, though otherwise an hipocrit or Infidell. Whereunto yt was answered. That the boocke had noe such meaninge, and that by theise wordes yt onlye diswaded from the opinion wch the papistes had of there Confirmacion Called busshopping wch they beleeve to be necessary to salvacion. And therefore they make Confirmacion a sacrament and bring there childerne therevnto beinge Infantes, whereas this Church of England hath noe such opinion thereof but doth use yt to this ende specially that Childerne may knowe what there godfathers promysed for them in there baptisme and also learne to performe the same and likewise that it may be knowne whether the godfathers have performed ther promyse in seeinge these Childerne instructed as the boocke requireth. And therefore that Rubricke to contayne nothinge in yt contrarie to goddes word to the substaunce of Religion nowe professed in this Church of England and by lawe establisshed or to the Analogy of faith wth wch answere they were satisfied.

" The second doubte was of this Rubricke in the forme of baptisme. Then the prieste shall make a crosse uppon the childes forehed sayinge: whether thereby the crossinge of the child were made an addition to the sacrament as a parte thereof And as though baptisme were unperfect without yt. Whereunto it was answered that the boocke had noe such meaninge And that the crossinge of the child was only a ceremony significant and a profitable circumstaunce according to the wordes expressed in the booke wth wch answere they were also contented

" The third doubte was of these wordes in the boocke of orderinge Deacons and preistes etc Receave the holy Ghoste and whether therby it was meant that the bushopp had authority to geeve the holy ghoste I[t] was answered that the bushopp did not thereby luke (*sic*) uppon him to geeve the holy ghoste but only instrumentaliter even as the minister geiveth baptisme when he saith I baptise the in the name of the father etc whereby he doth not take uppon him to be the author or geiver of baptism, but the minister thereof only as John the baptist did, for Christ only is the geiver of the holy ghoste and of baptisme, John and others are the ministers of the sacrament and of the Ceremony.

" The wordes are Christes wordes used in the admittinge of the Appostelles to the ministerye and therefore used by us in the like accion to signify that god by our ministery and imposicion of hands as by his Instrumentes doth geve his holy spirite to all such as are rightlie called to the ministery. Wth wch answere they were likewise satisfied.

" The last doubte was of baptysing by woemen Whereunto yt was answered that the boocke did not name woemen when it spake of private baptisme. And that there subscription was not required

to anie thinge that was not expressed in the booke: uppon theise answeres geiven unto them by us they did voluntaryly and w^th^out anie protestacion at all subscribe to the three articles set downe for all Preachers and ministers to subscribe unto."

We are not here concerned with this as a statement of doctrine but as an illustration of what a Register may contain and beside it may be set a long letter (11) eight years later, in which the Archbishop expresses his deep sorrow that "the Bishopps of my Province of Canterburye doe so generallie begin to neglect to confirme," a letter which contains some striking passages about the training of the "yowth (beinge as it were the frie and seaminarie of the Churche" in their "Duetie to God, to theire prince, their countrie and their neighbours." And it may be noted in passing that in the register of Archbishop Abbot, in the following century, there will be found many things connected with theological teaching to which attention has seldom, if ever, been called. Some of them would seem to reflect the meditations of King James I. and VI. upon that curious passion for metaphysics and preternatural skill in dividing the Word which as all Southerners know is best nurtured and developed north of the Tweed.

But we are not all theologians, though most of us may be preachers, and there were other topics upon which Whitgift deemed it desirable that the clergy should instruct their flocks. The letter which I am about to quote (12) is equally characteristic of the sixteenth century. It is written in August, 1596.

"Uppon advertisement out of all partes of the Realme of the dearth of all manner of grayne, and that in most partes of the Realme the pryces thereof are excessively risen: her ma^tie^ consideringe howe the same is inhaunsed especiallie w^th^in theis two or three monethes doth impute the fault thereof as well to the covetous dispocicion of the farmers and engrossers of corne that seeke all excessive and ungodlye lucre by hordinge upp of corne and makinge more scarcytie then there is, and in some part of the neglect of the execution of such good orders as have been devised for the due servinge of the marketts and avoidinge those abuses that are practized by covetous persons . . . hath published a proclamacion . . . Howbeit forasmuch as this covetouse humor doth grow chieflie by want of that Christian charitie w^ch^ men ought to have, And for that alsoe of all other kynde of lucre, that is most ungodlie, that is gotten by pinchinge and starvinge of the poore people. It is most fitt and necessarie that the preachers should generallie in their sermons admonishe the ffarmers and owners of Corne of this dishonest and unchristian kynde of seekinge gaine by oppression of their poore neighbourss and recommend to the richer sorte keepinge of Hospitality for the relief of the poore. And likewise that howsekeepers beinge of welth would be content in their owne dyet to avoyde excesse and to use fewer dishes of meate in this tyme of

(11) Reg. Whitgift, i. 181.
(12) Reg. Whitgift, ii. 145*b*.

dearth And to forbeare to have suppers in their howses on wendesdaies ffrydaies and fastinge daies whereby much might be spared that would be better bestowed a great deale on the reliefe of the poore. And in like manner to admonishe gentlemen and others of meaner sorte that keepe kennelles of howndes that they should better to forbeare the keepinge of dogges in theis tymes of dearth and to convert that they spend superfluously that waye to the reliefe of the poorer sorte, And in noe case to forgett to reprove that untollerable excesse of eatinge and drinckinge that is commonlye used in Alehowses and other like places of common resort. Theis and other such like exhortacions I earnestlye praye and requier yo^r Lo : in her ma^ties name to recommend to the preachers and ministers of your dioces to be used with all earnestnesss and discretion."

Those clergy who do not reside are to be ordered to do so to give example of hospitality, an injunction with which one many imagine that many of them would find it easier to comply than to deal in their exhortations with earnestness coupled with due discretion with the rich farmers or sport-loving squires or yeomen of their parishes.

At the end of December, 1596, Whitgift issued urgent letters (13) to the bishops of his province in favour of enforcing abstinence by all manner of persuasion. The famine and scarcity are treated as God's judgment upon " our excesse and ryott in dyett and the wastfull consuminge of his good creatures " and every effort is to be made to secure the observance of Wednesdays and Fridays both by services for prayer and by abstention entirely from flesh meat. The Queen has done her part by causing " great store of graine to be provided from forreine partes freelye without payinge anie custome,"(14) her subjects must do theirs. Householders are required " not for sparinge to discharge anie of their houshold to shifte for themselves, on days appointed for fasting days noe suppers att all are to be provided or taken by anie." The clergy are to be exhorted to set a good example and to recommend the observance of the injunctions.

" And alsoe doe from tyme to tyme in their sermons and exhortacions earnestlie and pythelie exhorte and stirr upp everie of them to fervent prayer both publique and private, to abstinencye fastinge true humiliation to forbeare all excesse to relieve the poore and needie by good housekeepinge, by settinge them one worke and by other deedes of Almes and brotherlie compassion . . . the people must be duelie taught to endure this scarsitie with patience and especiallie to beware howe they give eare to anie persuasions or practizes of discont[ent]ed and idle braines to move them to repine or swarue from the humble[r]e duties of good subiectes to the further offence of God and discontentinge of her Maiestie." Certificates both of disobedient

(13) Reg. Whitgift, ii. 149.

(14) See the very numerous directions for the regulation of the corn trade in *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S. vols. xxv., xxvi., 1595-6, 1596-7 (Stationery Office, 1901, 2).

delinquents and of the well disposed are to be transmitted monthly to each diocesan bishop. Special care is to be taken against " callinge or sufferinge persons of other parishes to assemble themselves as some heretofore offensivelie of their owne headds have attempted under colloure of generall fastes."

It is an utterance curiously characteristic of the Elizabethan era, and from another side we can see tendencies developing which converged in the same direction of prescription of modes of assembling for worship and otherwise by a style of regulation which we may call " grandmotherly " or inimical to freedom, but which was conceived of as necessary to national well-being. There are many references in the Register to the dark designs of the Pope and of the King of Spain, to the danger of foreign invasion and the requirement of arms and equipment, from the clergy as from others, in order to repel it. It is not a question of trying to justify the official efforts to enforce uniformity in all directions, but of an effort to understand the causes from which it proceeded. To scruple at taking the oath of supremacy, even though it were a scruple based on the question of lawfulness of taking any oath at all, to scruple at attendance at the parish church, to shew an undue fondness for debating points of divinity, to display a predilection for private assemblies where no one knew what might happen and still less what might be said—these things were possible symptoms of disloyalty, or at least of disaffection, and a disregard of her Majesty's " princelie care and gracious tender affection." And it is, one may be justified in thinking, doing no dishonour to the men and women who felt bound for conscience' sake to resist, if we try to understand a little better the point of view of those who stood in their eyes for an illegitimate attempt to fetter liberty of conscience, and could not appreciate a loyalty which did not express itself in the acceptance of what Authority saw fit to enjoin. And there is one other feature in the regulations of the period to which it is necessary to direct attention: they were at any rate in intention, and generally in fact, to be applied without respect of persons. A very noteworthy instance of this is to be seen in regard to the prohibition of clandestine marriages which a vigorous effort was made to abolish, for the regulations were put into force not merely against ordinary folk, but against even the Lord Keeper himself, who had broken the law in respect of the marriage of his daughter " in privatis edibus vulgariter vocatis Russell house infra vel iuxta le Strond in com. Middlesex." (15)

There are many other features in the Register to which it would be interesting to call attention if time allowed. The briefs for the collections for captives of the Turks in Argier (16), where often the

(15) *Reg. Whitgift*, iii. 120.
(16) *Ibid*, i. 108, 118*b*, 119; ii. 146.

names of the sufferers are given, for the inhabitants of Pensaunce " spoyled and brent by a sodaine incursion of the enymie " (17) in 1595, or for the sufferers in the great fire at Namptwich in 1583 (18) or Tiverton in 1598,(19) the licences or revocation of licences for schoolmasters, all yield something for the student of local history. The same may be said of the account of the proceedings against certain persons at Wye and at Faversham for contempt of the Book of Common Prayer. (20) And curious and illuminating as are the licences to practice medicine and surgery in their indication of what our forefathers suffered, they are probably not less important in their accounts of the persons to whom the licences were given. The licence was granted to those who had proved their skill before receiving it, and usually in desperate or nearly desperate cases. (21) They are of great variety, ranging from a general licence to a restricted one for the cure of persons suffering from melancholia or frenzy, (22) or of others who suffered from diseases of the limbs, from spasm and diseases of the eyes, called in English " the gowte," or from " crampe and sore eyes,"(23) a condition of licence being willingness to take an oath to recognize the royal supremacy. And the last volume of the Register contains some pages of very human and enduring interest. On one page there is the form of prayer for the great Queen in her last illness, and below it the style ordered in bidding prayer for King James and his family. (24) Here, too, are contained the letters of King James, in 1604, for the new translation of the Bible (25) inserted in this volume, though not issued until after Whitgift's death. The object of the letters is the provision for the expenses of maintenance of the translators, which Bancroft, the Bishop of London, explains that " his ma^tie was verie ready of his most princely disposicion to have borne ; But some of my LL. as thinges nowe goe did holde it inconveniente."(26) His Majesty himself with the greater caution says: " And yet we of ourselfe in any convenient tyme cannot well remedy it," and so the duty is passed on to bishops and deans and chapters, and " anie of the Laitie when we shall in tyme move them to so good and religious an acte . . . that so our said intended Translacion may have the helpe and furtherance of all our principal learned men within this our Kingedome."(27)

(17) *Ibid*, ii. 139.
(18) *Ibid*, i. 93.
(19) *Ibid*, iii. 99*b*.
(20) *Ibid*, i. 184, 185*b*, 197.
(21) *Ibid*, i. 90.
(22) *Reg. Whitgift*, iii. 122.
(23) *Ibid*, iii. 110.
(24) *Ibid*, iii. 148*b*.
(25) *Ibid*, iii. 155*b*.
(26) *Ibid*, iii. 156.
(27) *Ibid*, iii. 155*b*.

And above it is the record of the breaking with an iron hammer of the Archbishop's seal in a certain room called " le Waytinge Chamber," in the house of the late most reverend father John Whitegifte, Archbishop of Canterbury, within the manor of Lambehith in the County of Surrey. Whitgift was dead, a great chapter in English history was closed, and we may do well to remember in regard to a man of whom English Protestants have found it hard to think kindly that among the last of his official acts here registered is a letter transmitting to his clergy a royal brief for the relief of the City of Geneva, and commending it to them " the intente and purpose beinge so charitable and christian and for releife of a Cittie which meinteines the Gospell, and for professinge thereof endureth theise trobles."(28) It is, as I have said, not in the spirit of an apologist that I have desired to speak to you of the founder of the great library at Lambeth, for it is to Whitgift as well as to Bancroft that the title belongs, but rather to shew something, however imperfectly, of the interest of the official record of his acts. The evil that men do lives after them. The good is oft interred with their bones: Let us try to recall in a different age and in different circumstances something of a larger charity in the labours and plans which filled his dying thoughts *pro ecclesia Dei*.

CLAUDE JENKINS.

(28) *Ibid*, iii. 152.

## The Early Independents and the Visible Church

(*Continued from p.* 266)

IT was quite an usual thing for these Separatists to quote, in support of their opinions, the very passages of Scripture which are, or have been in our own day, appealed to by High-Church Anglicans—for instance, the story of Korah, Dathan and Abiram (29) and the mistranslation of " John x., 16 "—" There shall be one FOLD and one Shepherd " (30). Again, Barrowe, like a modern High-Churchman, incurred the reproach of " popishly abusing " " John VI. 53 " by expounding it as having some connection with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And in defending himself against this accusation, he thus explained his position (31).

" Though I acknowledge that many thousands that never attained the symbol of the supper yet do feed of that body and blood of Christ by faith unto eternal life ; yet this I say that such as by censure are put back from the Table of the Lord are cut from the communion of Christ and His Church and so from life : for if he have not communion with Christ and His Church he can have no life. . . . They that pluck away the seal cancel the deed. . . . Therefore they (as far as man can do) cut him from Christ and His covenant."

We find an equally startling resemblance between " rigid " Separatists and High-Church Anglicans of our own day when we inquire into the attitude of the former towards the worship, ritual and organization of the Church. The Separatist petition of 1603—which was evidently drawn up either by the moderate party or by persons sufficiently worldly-wise to refrain from prejudicing their cause with the King by obtruding extremist opinions—contains only one slight trace of this zeal over matters of detail, in the request already mentioned that the officers of the Church shall be those " appointed by Christ in His last will and testament "—*i.e.*, pastor, teacher, elders, deacons and deaconesses, whose credentials the Separatists believed that they found in the first epistle to Timothy. (32) Concerning the worship and ritual of the Church the Separatist petition has less to say than the

(29) Barrowe's " Plain Refutation."
(30) See, for instance, Smyth's " Parallels " (Works, pp. 353 and 361-2).
(31) " Brief Discovery of the False Church."
(32) See, for instance, Smyth's " Principles and Inferences " (Works, p. 259).

" Millenary " Petition. For, whereas the latter enumerates a list of specific grievances concerning the established worship and ritual, the former, neglecting matters of detail, sets forward primarily great general principles—for instance, making a revolutionary protest against the formalism of liturgical worship. It is only when we study the writings and the actions of " rigid Separatists " like the uncompromising Smyth that we are reminded, in the oddest and most paradoxical way, of certain Anglican or Roman Catholic " ritualists." " This true and visible Church is called Christ, I. Cor. 12, 12," declared Smyth. (33) " Whosoever taketh upon him . . . to appoint new officers, laws, ministry, worship and communion in the church is Antichrist, I. John 4, 3. 2 Thes. 2. 4. Revel. 13–16, 17." And during a brief period of extreme fanaticism (described by himself in his " Last Book " (34) as " the days of my blind zeal ") he broke with his fellow-Separatists, attacking them (in his " Differences of the Churches of the Separation ") largely because they recognized (as he himself had formerly done) the threefold eldership of pastor, teacher and " ruling elders " in the place of the uniform eldership of a number of equal pastors (which by 1608 he had come to accept as the Scriptural plan) and because they consulted their Bibles during sermon-time, contrary to the practice of the primitive Church and in a fashion which he held to be incompatible with the " spiritual worship " of the New Testament. Throughout the writings of Barrowe and other rigid Separatists the curious plea is constantly reiterated that GOD could not be less careful " for the structure, forms, orders and ordinances " of the Christian Church than He was for those of the Jewish Tabernacle and Temple. (35)

The early Independents devoted a vast amount of pious ingenuity to the task of piecing together from various passages of Scripture a pattern of the Christian Church and of its worship, concerning which Barrowe declared (36). that it was " Christ's last will and testament, whereunto nothing may be added, nothing diminished, nothing altered or changed, violate or wilfully neglected, without most heinous transgression, sacrilege and impiety. . . . Neither hath any angel in heaven, any mortal man, no, not the whole Church,

(33) " Principles and Inferences " (Works, p. 268).

(34) " The Last Book of John Smyth, Called the Retraction of His Errors and the Confirmation of the Truth "—a most touching and beautiful little tract (published after his death and re-published in Barclay's " Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," as well as in " The Works of John Smyth ") in which he confessed the sins that he had committed, during the period of his controversial activity, against " the rules of love and charity, which is the superior law."

(35) " Brief Discovery of the False Church " (see Powicke, p. 95). The Presbyterian Cartwright had made the same curious point. See p. 132 of Dexter's " England and Holland of the Pilgrims."

(36) " Brief Discovery of the False Church."

power or prerogative to alter or neglect the least jot or tittle thereof," adding : " For as there is but one truth, so whatsoever is diverse more or less than that truth is faulty and to be repented." But in order to see this ultra-" High-Church " intolerance in its extremest form we must study the writings of Thomas Helwys (Smyth's co-adjutor and pastor of " the first Baptist Church ") who taught (37) not only that every man who had ever borne the office, name or power of a bishop and died without repenting of this error had perished, but also that his own fellow-sufferers for the cause of " the Separation " would be eternally lost if they remained obstinate in defending infant baptism. He insisted that the " simple-hearted . . . being led by their teachers, if they justify ANY ONE error or false way and condemn ANY ONE truth " will share in their leader's condemnation. According to him, everyone was in imminent, awful peril of damnation who had in any one particular deviated from the Apostolic pattern of the true Church, " the exect rule of the law of Christ Jesus distinctly and most perfectly set down in the New Testament which he hath purchased and sealed unto us with his blood, to stand for a law of election and ordination " (*i.e.*, of the ministers of the Church) " for ever : unto which whosoever addeth or taketh away either by word or action, by doctrine or example, the Lord will add unto them all His judgments and take away all His mercies."

This exclusive loyalty to the Bible as the sole authority in matters of Christian faith and practice is one of the most striking differences between " High-Church " Separatism and High-Church Anglicanism of our day. It suggested, and was bound up with, all the other differences—the absence of a sacerdotal or clerical order, the decision of vital questions by the brotherhood, the bare simplicity of worship. " I took the whole word of GOD to be the foundation and faith of Christ's Church and servants," declared Barrowe (38)," and that this whole faith of the Church ought not to be called upon, limited or restrained unto a few articles only." " The King's people," Helwys complained to James I., " must not understand the Word but as the Lord Bishops will have it understood, and they must not pray nor administer the holy things but as they appoint. . . ." " This hierarchy of Archbishops and Lord Bishops doth nothing differ from the first Beast : for the first Beast keeps both the word and the spirit from the people ; and they keep the spirit of GOD in bondage and then is the word of GOD of no effect, debarring the people of GOD thereof, tying them to their spirits in the understanding of the Scriptures."

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(37) All the quotations from Helwys in this article are taken from his " Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity," a brief tract which may be seen in the Bodleian Library. The italics are mine.

(38) " Few Observations of Mr. Giffard's Last Reply."

Smyth protested (39) that the assemblies of England " (*i.e.*, the Church of England) " do neither themselves profess the true faith of Christ contained in the New Testament, their faith being stinted and limited under certain devised articles and convocation house synodical decrees or constitutions . . . neither therefore do they baptize into the New Testament of Christ indefinitely and simply, but respectively and definitely into that faith and doctrine which is taught in their stinted book of articles."

But if the faith and practice of the Church was not to be " stinted and limited " by decrees of synods, by what means was the teaching of the New Testament to be applied to those problems of the Christian life which the Church has to face and resolve ? The Separatists would have replied to that question by a quotation from the famous passage on which their Church polity was based." (40)

" Where two or three are gathered together in My Name there am I in the midst of them." " Here is the controversy," Smyth explained (41), " here is the state of the question " (between Separatists and Catholics) " whether the holy things with Christ be given originally to the body of the Church, to the faithful ; or whether the holy things with Christ be given to the ministry originally and that the Church hath all from the ministry : and that is the point of succession " (*i.e.*, of Apostolic Succession). Throughout his " Parallels "—a voluminous treatise written in exposition and defence of the Separatist faith as taught by Barrowe—he contended with the utmost earnestness and with a wealth of argument and illustration that " the power of binding and loosing "—*i.e.*, the power to decide questions of conscience arising in the Church, to censure and excommunicate or to acquit alleged offenders against the Christian law—is vested in " the whole multitude of the faithful " and in thus insisting he was only claiming what Barrowe and the Petition of 1603 had claimed before him.

But this power of binding and loosing was a law-interpreting and law-enforcing, not a law-making, power. " It is not the men but the word of GOD which bindeth and looseth," Greenwood explained to an objector. (42) The decision of difficult questions

(39) " Parallels " (Works, p. 466).

(40) Matt. xviii., 15-20. See, for instance, Barrowe's " Brief Discovery " (*e.g.* p. 166) and his " True Description of the Visible Church," Smyth's " Principles and Inferences " (a pamphlet reprinted in Vol. I. of his Works), and his " Parallels " (*e.g.* pp. 433-4 of Works).

(41) " Parallels " (Works, p. 529).

(42) The words were uttered in answer to an objector who asked whether the Church might excommunicate the Queen, to which awkward question Greenwood very tactfully replied :—" I doubt not but Her Majesty would be ruled by the Word : for it is not the men," etc.

by counting heads Barrowe pronounced to be " unheard of and insufferable " (43) in the Church of Christ. " There all from the highest to the lowest in all actions enquire the will of GOD, which being known they all then walk by the same rule and with one consent do the will of GOD accordingly. There is no division in that body." Smyth explained (44) that " if the matter be not evident but doubtful and controversial, communion still must be preserved peacably, notwithstanding diversity of judgment, till the truth be discovered . . . during which time all men must carefully search out the truth and labour for information." In cases where unanimity could not be attained, or where different congregations came to different conclusions, it was always possible for a number of Churches to take counsel together : this was the usual practice of the Congregationalist Churches of New England. (45) But no Congregationalist synod could force a Church to act against its own conviction. Independency stood—and stands to-day—not for any idea that each congregation is entitled to do " as it pleases " nor for the theory that truth is too complex to be apprehended in all its aspects by one any community, but simply for the great principle that reluctant, enforced obedience to a Divine command or unintelligent acquiescence in the doctrine of the New Testament is worthless in the sight of GOD—that, as Helwys put it, " they that obey the truth in love, whom the love of GOD constraineth, their obedience only shall be acceptable to GOD." Just as an individual defying the Church of which he was a member suffered no penalty save that of excommunication, so an individual Church defying the verdict of her sister-Churches could be subject to no other form of constraint than that of exclusion from their fellowship. (46) The subjects of Christ must be willing subjects : for not only had they to be " saints " ; they were also to declare and administer the will of their Lord. Every soul, therefore, was in so far set free that it was not compelled, nay, was not suffered, to enter the true Church unless inwardly persuaded of its trueness : nor, having once entered the Church, might a man lawfully

(43) " Plain Refutation."

(44) " Principles and Inferences " (Works, p. 265).

(45) See Dexter's " Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years," and article on Congregationalism in Encyclopedia Britannica.

(46) For the Independent view of the power of synods see pp. 105 and 125-6 of Powicke's " Henry Barrow." See also Smyth's " Principles and Inferences " (Works, p. 267). " Every true visible Church is of equal power with all other visible Churches . . . and hath power to reform all abuses within itself, which power is spiritual, as is Christ's Kingdom, not worldly, bodily or carnal." For the Independent view of excommunication, see the previous page of " Principles " :—" The end of excommunication is not the destruction of the offender but the mortification of his sin and the salvation of his soul. The party excommunicate is not to be counted as an enemy, but to be admonished as a brother."

submit to its authority (47) if he believed that that authority was not being exercised in accordance with the will of Christ, as declared in the New Testament. (48) That is to say :—the earliest Independents believed devoutly, often indeed fanatically, that the one and only sure method of salvation was set forth in great detail in the Bible : but they also held that every man must discover this method for himself and yield a conscientious, intelligent obedience to the Church—*i.e.*, the brotherhood.

The Church as conceived by the Independents was the monarchy of Christ the King, acting not through a code of law or a governing class, but in every instance directly and immediately through the agency of His convinced and willing people (49)—a " demos " which knew no division and which refused all blind submission either to its own officers or to any outside body. " We hold all true believers ecclesiastical," declared Barrowe (50) : and he protested against the terms " clergy " and " laity " as " popish."(51) Amongst these earliest Independents a pastor, once chosen, approved and instituted to his sacred office, was bound to his flock by a bond which, save in the case of some fault or disability of the first magnitude on his side, was almost unbreakable. (52) It was his duty to be the guide and teacher of his people and to preside at every act of the Church : it was his right to be treated

(47) See, for instance, Smyth's " Parallels " (Works, p. 539) :—" The true constitution " (of the Church) " must be taught, and men must be brought to the faith, before the Church can be constituted."

(48) See, for instance, Barrowe's " Brief Discovery "—" The least member of the Church is not subject to the Church neither to follow it further than it followeth Christ."

(49) This deep desire to maintain unceasing, direct contact with the Holy Spirit explains, and partly excuses, the fanaticism with which some of these early Independents inveighed against set forms of prayer and the prescription by authority of particular " lessons " from Scripture for each day of the year. See, for instance, the following passages from Barrowe's " Brief Discovery " " Is the Church of GOD still in wardship and such infancy ? Shut up as under a garrison that it must have such tutors and rudiments ? Is not Christ now dead, risen and ascended ? And hath freed His Church from such tutelship ? He Himself now becoming their lawgiver and minister in person and hath now given them His Holy Word and Spirit to administer wisdom unto them in all freedom to use the same His Word according to His Will and their own occasions unto His glory and their comforts " ; and again :—" Shall we think that GOD hath at any time left these his servants so singly furnished and destitute of his grace that they cannot find according to their necessities and faith to express their wants and desires, but need to be taught line unto line, as children new weaned from the breasts, what and when to say, how much to say and when to make an end, to say this collect at the beginning, that at the end, that before, the tother after, this in the morning, that at afternoon."

(50) Barrowe and Greenwood's " Collection of Certain Slanderous Articles."

(51) See " Collection of Certain Slanderous Articles " and " Brief Discovery of the False Church."

(52) See Smyth's " Principles and Inferences " (Works, pp. 256 and 264).

with reverence, and, within the limits imposed by Holy Writ, to receive the willing and loving submission of his flock. But outside his own congregation he exercised no authority: while inside it he had no power to over-ride the Church if he could not convince it. To the Separatists the true Church, which had a right to speak in the name of Christ, was a company of humble believers united for the purpose of MUTUAL assistance in the duty of understanding and obeying their Lord's commands, MUTUAL loving correction and admonition; renouncing the pride and self-will which makes men of the world delight in the exercise of authority; ready to hear the voice of Christ in the rebuke of the lowliest "brother" who could convict either the Church as a whole or any individual member (were it the pastor himself) of transgressing His law as laid down in the New Testament. (53)

It was such a kingdom as this that Smyth had in mind when, in the course of his controversy with Richard Bernard (54) he insisted that, whatever "invisible" faith a man might have in his heart towards GOD, the only unmistakable *visible* sign of true faith and obedience consisted in humble submission to the kingly rule of Christ over His Visible Church. (55) "The sum of the

(53) See Powicke's "Henry Barrow," particularly the chapter on "Barrowe's Doctrine of the Church," for an excellent account, illustrated by copious quotations from the Church Father's own writings, of the status of the ministry, and the share of the ordinary member in exercising the authority of the Church, amongst the Separatists.

(54) See his "Parallels, Censures, Observations," the bulk of which treatise consists of a letter which he wrote to Bernard in 1607 and of a defence of that letter point by point, which he published in 1609, in reply to Bernard's "Separatists' Schism" of 1608.

(55) See, for instance, a strongly worded sentence in his "Parallels" (Works, p. 561):—"Therein" (*i.e.* in the "government" of the Church of England) "can no good Christian join except it be lawful for a good Christian which is *or ought to be*" (italics mine) "a subject of Christ's Kingdom which is His Visible Church, to submit to the utter enemy of Christ and to his authority, which what is it else but to be a traitor against the Lord Jesus?" That clear conception of the distinction between "visible" and "invisible" Churchmanship which pervades his "Parallels" and "The Character of the Beast" (a treatise of 1609 against infant baptism) was expressed by Smyth as early as 1607 (in his "Principles and Inferences"), in the following explicit terms (Works, pp. 251-2):—"The Catholic Church is the company of the elect, and it is invisible. . . . It is one thing to be a saint, another thing to be of the visible communion of saints. . . . Invisible communion with Christ is by the spirit and faith. . . . Communion with the elect living is prayer proceeding from love, for them that are uncalled that they may be called, for them that are called that they may be confirmed. Communion with the elect angels is the help of their ministry, reverence of them and love unto them. A visible communion of saints is of two, three, or more saints joined together by covenant with GOD and themselves freely to use all the holy things of GOD, according to the word, for their mutual edification and GOD'S glory. This visible communion of saints is a visible Church. The visible Church is the only religious Society that GOD hath ordained for men on earth."

Gospel is this," so he pleaded with his opponent (56)—" that Jesus Christ the Son of GOD and the Son of Mary is the only King, Priest and Prophet of His Church, governing, sacrificing, making intercession, and prophesying after that holy manner and according to those rules which He hath prescribed in His Testament. Now to believe truly concerning the person of Christ and to believe falsely concerning His office, as you do, is not to believe the whole gospel but only a piece of it."

It was chiefly because the Puritan clergy acquiesced in, or at best did not totally dissociate themselves from, the bishops' attempt to suppress by force the holy societies of meek believers that Barrowe, from his gloomy dungeon, assailed them in such fiery invectives as the following (57) :—" The Christ these men preach is utterly without power to put anything of His own will in practice but is sold as a bondslave to these anti-Christian bishops and preachers "—*i.e.*, the Puritan preachers, (58)—His enemies. He cannot by virtue of His own word and authority redress anything, be it never so heinous, or enormous ; neither can He establish or bring in anything that is wanting, be it never so necessary and important, without humble suit and attendance unto the high court of Parliament or upon the high court of commission. If they reject His suit, though it be by thirty years together . . . yet must this poor Christ, with all His servants, even the whole Church, still surcease the practice of the Gospel and continue under these abominations, yea, if He anger His lords the bishops much, He shall be whipped with scorpions, with new rods, and this by the universal consent of all His learned preachers in the land."

The liberty which the first Independents preached was most certainly NOT based by them upon any theory that men have a natural right to worship GOD as they think fit—a doctrine of the later seventeenth century which would have amazed most sixteenth century Englishmen. Nor yet was it founded on faith in democracy, if democracy implies the right of an adult community to govern itself as it chooses. For the Independents of the first generation were quite as incapable as their compatriots of even conceiving such an idea : to them, as to practically every Englishman of their day, it came naturally to think and speak of " the Prince " as the ruler of the State. It was no RIGHT to liberty, no RIGHT to become a member of a self-governing body, that they preached, but the DUTY of refusing a blind obedience to man which hampered the soul's endeavour to learn and to do the will of Christ,

(56) " Parallels " (Works, p. 471).
(57) " Brief Discovery."
(58) Rigid Separatists habitually styled " false " Churches " Anti Christ " (and their members " Antichristians ")—no doubt partly because they usually persecuted the " true " Church.

the DUTY of living in subjection to the admonitions and censures of the saints. Resistance to man was the outcome of the humblest desire to submit to Christ : each soul in these Separatist churches was summoned to " stoop low within those bounds " that men of the world " o'erlooked."

But, alas, there were fanatics amongst the early Independents who displayed a perverse ingenuity in making the bounds as narrow as possible. A whole catalogue of manufactured sins might be drawn up out of Barrowe's writings. Paradoxically enough, most of these sins were sins against Christian liberty. (59)

Out of the fear of being brought into bondage to man Barrowe and some of his followers created a new kind of bondage. They so expounded and applied the doctrine of liberty as to debar the Church from regulating her public worship from time to time as she might think fit : while Smyth and Helwys were for ever tormenting themselves and their fellow-Separatists by their feverish eagerness in evolving new scruples (60). All this fanaticism, this " preposterous zeal "—as Smyth himself, in his wiser and later days saw it to be, (61) sprang from a strange kind of fetich-worship of that model of the Apostolic Church which the Scriptures were supposed to contain.

For, alike for good and for evil, the first Independents were above all things Churchmen, deeply and eagerly concerned about matters ecclesiastical, jealous in asserting that it was at once the right and duty of the Church to be governed by her own law and not by that of the State. On the other hand, the Conformist Puritans of the Elizabethan period were indifferent about the structure and government of the Church and even about Church fellowship, content to acquiesce in the rule of the " magistrate " over the Church so long as he abstained from interference with the preaching of the Gospel of individual salvation through individual repentance and faith : while Queen Elizabeth's bishops were for the most part extremely " Low-Church " in their readiness to accept whatever government and worship the civil power might

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(59) For instance, while holding it lawful to take a voluntary " oath," Barrowe refused in his first examination before Archbishop Whitgift to take an oath imposed by authority (basing his refusal on " I. Cor. vi. 12 ") and persisted in this refusal even when it involved him in imprisonment without trial.

(60) See, for instance, Smyth's " Differences of the Churches of the Separation " (1608) and a piteous complaint by Henry Ainsworth Teacher in the principal Separatist Church in Amsterdam :—" He increaseth daily " (his differences) " with deadly fued and open opposition, as all men may see " (" Defence," 1609).

(61) His actual words (in his " Last Book ") were :—in the days of my blind " zeal and preposterous imitation of Christ—I was somewhat lavish in censuring and judging others."

prescribe for the National Church (62). In short, the popular conception of the Anglicans of the first generation as pre-eminently "Churchmen" and of the Separatists as disbelievers in a Visible Church with a fixed structure, government and laws, is the exact reverse of the truth.

M. Dorothea Jordan.

(62) See, for instance, in addition to the quotations from Whitgift in this article—Powicke's chapter on "The Bishops of Barrowe's Day" for examples of episcopal subservience to the royal will. See also pp. 94-101 of Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims" and pp. 25-33 of Marsden's "Early Puritans."

## Correspondence of Sir Edward Harley, K.B. and Rev. Francis Tallents

(*Continued from p. 277*)

Tuesd : Dec.17.95.

(6) Honoured S^r^,

It's a rejoycing to many y^t^ your Houses begin w^th^ seeking God for wisdom & a blessing, & calling others to it. There's great need of it as ever, for your work is difficult, & far beyond the wisdom of y^e^ greatest Men ; but if we truly ask it of God, it may be had. Even that of y^e^ Coin, which may seem little, but is of main concern, how hard is it ? If made of a lower valew, y^e^ foraign merchants will undo us ; And if of the old Valew, it will be exported ; as the Scotchmen y^e^ pedlars now daily by divers arts buy up all y^e^ milled money (w^ch^ provokes many) so that now very little of that is to be found among us. S^r^, we are very sensible of the pains & inconveniences you endure in attending the House ; but it's for God, & that sweetens all to you. The land fund wherein your son M^r^ Edward is engaged, will be, I suppose, at some stand, till y^e^ money be new coined. I shall take it for a favour, if you please to order your man to let me know how that stands ; and if good M^r^ Fisher who took such pains in that charitable work, be living, & in health. I hope, S^r^, you take some fit occasions to continue your faithfulness & kindness to M^r^ John Hampden, whose happiness, with his honoured fathers, I much desire, tho' at this distance I know not how to be serviceable to them. Good M^r^ Bryan is tolerably well, & heartily joins with me in most unfeigned service to you, & both your honoured sons, and in our poor

prayers for your lives, & prospering in all things (y$^{t}$ concern yourselves or the publick) especially in your souls. I am with much respect,

Honoured S$^{r}$,

Your most humble and most obedient servant.

[Addressed

These To the Hon$^{ble}$ S$^{r}$ Edward Harley, a Member of y$^{e}$ House of Co$^{m}$ons at Westminster.]

(This letter is in the handwriting of Francis Tallents, but it is not signed. It is endorsed by Sir Edward Harley: " Mr Talents. Dec: 17.95.)

Tuesd: Dec.31.95.

(7) Honoured S$^{r}$,

I humbly thank you for yours wherewith you was pleas'd to honour me, and for the particular account of the decease of the much honoured M$^{r}$ Hampden (which our News letters mention'd in generall) with which I was much affected; for He was certainly a truly good Man, and so, a great loss; as also of the weak condition both in body and mind of my dear M$^{r}$ John Hampden, which affects me much. I have scribbled something as I can, but far short of what I would; and not knowing which way to send it, make bold to give you the trouble of it to Him.

I bless God from my heart for His great goodness to you and both your worthy sons, whom I beseech God to keep upright, humble, and near to Himself, in the midst of their Honours, & varietie of weighty businesses they are, and may be concern'd in. The Devil Negotium is a chief One; And I am glad, S$^{r}$, you are so near them, to advise, direct, and encourage them. My humble service to them both I humbly pray you. They onely are safe whom God keeps. S$^{r}$, you began well with a fast, & good reason for it; and if it shall please God to give success to our councels

& forces, as I hope he will (tho we be very unworthy) I wish our thanksgiving may not be crouded into the Lords day (to gratifie or force some perhaps y$^{t}$ else would not keep it) but may have a solemn time for itself, & be more publickly own'd. However, S$^{r}$, we are in the hands of J : C$^{t}$ our King ; who hung upon the tree once for us, & rules alwaies for us, and will reign till (he) shall have put all His & our Enemies under His feet, & rais'd us up to Everlasting glorie. O that we may be His true subjects & soldiers, & act for Him, & suffer for Him if He call us to it, & be glorified with Him. M$^{r}$ Bryan honours you in his heart, as I also do, who am with much respect,

Honoured S$^{r}$,

Your most humble and most obliged Servant,

FRA. TALLENTS.

Be pleasd, S$^{r}$, to order your man to let us know, how your little grandson at Brampton doth.

[Addressed These To the Hon$^{ble}$ S$^{r}$ Edward Harley, a Member of y$^{e}$ House of Co$^{m}$ons at Westminster.]

Mond : Apr.6.96.

(8) S$^{r}$

Some months ago Mr Bryan & I took the boldness to write to you, to desire your and your sons help to procuer some place of employment for his son in law M$^{r}$ J$^{n}$ Cooper ; (13) and he writes that he sent up the letter to you by your man, & hath been severall times at your lodgings but could never get admittance to you. Nw, S$^{r}$, it's possible that letter never came to your hand, and therefore if he should come again to wait upon you, I entreat you to give order to your servant y$^{t}$ if such a one do come he may have y$^{e}$ libertie of access to you. Possibly, S$^{r}$, it may not be in your or your sons way to help him ; & if so, it will be an advantage to him to know it. I write this without any order of M$^{r}$ Bryan's, who is troubled for his

daughter's condition, and you will be pleased to pardon this freedom in

S^r^

Your most humble Serv^t^ in our Bl : Lord

FRA. TALLENTS.

M^r^ Philip Foley (14) shows great willingness to help him if he could.

[Addressed

These To the Hon^ble^ S^r^ Edward Harley a Member of y^e^ Hon^ble^ House of Commons in Westminster.]

(9) Salop. June 13.96.

Honoured S^r^,

I bless God that hath graciously freed you from your troublesome distemper, and continues in you a heart devising good things ; and amidst your thoughts of the weightiest things of our Church & Nation, to condiscend to think of that poor widow, & to direct how she (& some others too I hope) may be relieved. I have writ to S^r^ Thomas Rokesby, (15) and desired my good friend M^r^ Richard Stretton (16) to sollicite the matter as effectually as he can, being myself unknown to y^e^ Judg. He y^t^ minds the low & y^e^ poor, & rewards those y^t^ honestly give but a cup of cold water to a disciple, bless you y^t^ consider the poor, preserve you in time of trouble, & strengthen you when you shall be upon your bed of languishing.

And, honoured S^r^, as you have opportunitie, I pray you be as a father to poor M^r^ Hampden. I wrote lately to him, but know not what my letters may signifie to him. His dear Son is at M^r^ Woodhouses, (17) was with me a little, & will ere long I hope see me again. Madame Hampden his mother favoured me with a very kind letter dated Apr. 18 ; complains in it y^t^ her son hath sold Dunton [Bucks] one of his best Mannors, & y^e^ onely place y^t^ was free for him to make away, & is cutting down y^e^ woods & Timber ; y^t^ he

casts off y^e^ seeming to own any thing or any body y^t^ looks to Religion, hath married a — & y^t^ he came once to see her since his fathers death, w^ch^ is all she supposes she shall see of him. I hope, S^r^, she is mistaken in some of her thoughts. I have writ to her again. Possibly, S^r^, if you gave her a Visit, it might be much for y^e^ good of both of them. My humble service to your worthy sons. God guide y^e^ hearts & Counsells of all y^t^ mean well & seek His glory. I am with much respect,

Your most humble servant,
FRA. TALLENTS.

M^r^ Bryan presents his service & returns his humble thanks for y^r^ fav^r^ to his son.

[Addressed These For the Hon^ble^ S^r^ Edward Harley in King street in Bloomsbury London.]

(10) (To Edward Harley, second son of Sir Edward Harley.)

Tuesd: Oct. 6.96.

Honoured S^r^,

Having an opportunitie of sending the inclosed papers by so sure a hand, & so speedily by M^r^ Beal, who knows not what they are, & I desire y^t^ neither he nor any others may, but onely your honoured Father & dear brother Harley. (18) You may wonder to see such a thing from me; but so it is. If you please to peruse them, & think it may be well to print them, let it be so. I wholly leave the matter to your honoured father, brother, & you, but if you think it best to suppress them, after some time I pray you send them safely to me again.

But if you publish them, I pray you let my Name be concealed, & be pleased to blot out of the extract what you Judg fit—and change the preface as you think fit, & add what you will. And as for y^e^ comparison at y^e^ later end, possibly it may be best to leave

it out wholly; I have scribbled it hastilie, & do not greatly approve of it. But I leave all wholly to you.

Some time ago, I heard one had offred to print an abstract out of Hacket, (19) but was opposed; whereupon he threatened to put out severall passages that had been left out of Hacket's when it was printed; But I have heard nothing of that since.

God guide your hearts, & give you wisdom fit for your great imployment, & good success, & so work in y^e^ hearts of our Kings & Parliam^ts^ that it may not be said our historie w^ch^ may be writ hereafter—Stultorum Regum et Populorum continet iras.

With my heartie thanks ffor all your kindness & especially for the last opportunitie you gave me of converse with you, & y^e^ charitie you left for others, I take leave & rest,

Honoured S^r^

Your much obliged and most humble Servant,

F. T.

I pray you let me know what you shall intend to do with those papers.

[Addressed

These

For Edward Harley Esq^r^.]

(11) Salop. Tuesd: Aug: 10.97.

(Recommends the following persons for charitable help:—)

Widdows

Mrs. Jane Heath (20) of Shrewsbury

Mrs. Taylor of Wem

Mrs. Cooper of Moseley [Mowsley]

Y^e^ last sumer M^r^ Edward your son gave me 3^l^ for Mrs. Heath, 3^l^ for Mrs. Taylor, & 1^l^ for Mrs. Cooper.

Yong Students

Isaac Owen, son to Mr. James Owen (21) of Oswestrie—a hopeful youth, & you know his father

William Cook, son to W^m^ Cook, a farmer—a very a hopeful youth every way, & his father but low
Daniel Madox, near Whitchurch, his father dead, & his mother has many children, & he very hopefull
M^r^ Evance (22), N.C. Min^r^ of Wrexham his son (23) —I promised to reco^m^end him to you.
Mr J^n^ Lewis who preaches near Braginton [Salop] is well known to you, & hath but very little given him for his labours.
S^r^, I will mention no more lest I clog you. They y^t^ are nearest & most importunate usually speed best; but I have confidence you will think fit to remember them y^t^ are afar off, & modest, & have great need, & hope you will consider these I have mention'd according to y^r^ need, & to what you have to dispose of. You will be pleased, S^r^, to let me know you have rec^d^ this, & what can be done.
(12) Salop. Frid : Sept. 8, 99
"I am now naked by the decease of my old Frend M^r^ Bryan, by whose means I first came to be known to you."

(13) Salop. Apr. 20. 1700.
What am I, Honoured S^r^, that I should have such a place in your most serious thoughts? I bless God that I have, & beleeve I fare better for it, and the kindness of some others also. God is gracious in freeing me from torturing pains, & exercising me onely with such gentle ones as I may easily bear, & yet mind me of that better world before. I have, S^r^, with M^r^, Owen done our best to find out such a one as you desire, and y^e^ Messengers return will shew the issue. How few are there, of any rank near to yours, that mind such things? Rejoyce, honoured S^r^, & beleeve more & more that since you beleeve in Jesus Christ you are freed from condemnation, are a child of God, & an heir of glory, & shall be carried on by His Power to it. This strengthens as well as comforts, & glorifies

our Gracious God. Even He bless all the branches of your familie, & make them blessings alwaies. I am, Honoured S^r, Your much obliged & most humble servant,

FRA. TALLENTS.

(14) Frid : Oct. 11, 1700.

I know not, Honoured S^r, how to move you better to favour good D^r Long, (24) in bestowing some of my Wharton's charitie upon him, then by sending his letter inclosed, which I hope will be prevalent, if all be not dispos'd of alreadie. I lately read over a late little piece cal'd Irenicum Magnum ; I am much for Large Foundations, but not so large as that designs, to bring in Socinianism, &c. (which yet may be excluded by a Confession of Faith in Scripture words w^ch he insists on) & destroy y^e inward vitals of true Religion many waies ; of w^ch one is to have no Prayers in Publick but in such generall terms as all Persons can agree in, &c. With all due respects, begging a remembrance in your prayers, I rest Your much obliged and humble serv^t in our Lord

FRA. TALLENTS.

(15) Salop, Sept. 23, 1700.

"I cannot let this opportunitie pass w^thout a thankfull acknowledgment of all your great love and kindness to me for many years, as well as from your most honoured Father & Brother, which I shall never forget. And I am very sensible of your readiness to have assisted my nephew Hutchinson (25) in his concern, which tho it was just, I was sory he ingaged himself in."

## NOTES.

13. JOSEPH COOPER (1635–99), the son of Hugh Cooper, a worthy minister at Preston, in Salop. He began to live the life of a man and of a Christian in his twentieth year. Became skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Became curate at Mowsley, a chapelry of Bromsgrove, in Worcestershire. A poor place. The inhabitants made up the income to £50. Ejected 1662, but continued to

preach till December, as there was no one else to supply his place. A troop of horse came, he was taken out of the pulpit and confined in Worcester jail six months. He had the courage to preach again the day of his release. He had a licence to preach in 1672 in his own house. He died in 1699, having published three works.

14. Philip Foley, of Stourbridge, son of Thomas Foley, the founder of the Hospital of Old Swinford, Worcestershire. His brother Paul was Speaker of the House of Commons, 1695–98. Bishop Burnet says of Philip that he was "one, who from mean beginnings, had by ironworks, raised one of the greatest estates that had been in England in our time."

15. Sir Thomas Rokeby (1631–99), whose father was an officer in Cromwell's army, and killed at the battle of Dunbar, was a strong Presbyterian, and confidential adviser of the Nonconformists in the North. B.A., Catherine Hall, Cambridge, 1649–50; Fellow, 1650; Barrister, Gray's Inn, 1657; elected ancient, 1676; possessed of large estates and influence at York, he exerted himself on behalf of the Prince of Orange in November, 1688. He was appointed by William III. one of the Judges of the Common Pleas (1689), knighted at Whitehall (1690), and made a Judge of the King's Bench (1695). After his raising to the Bench "he was constant to his principles, and always attended the preaching of good Mr. Stretton to his dying day," which was November 26th, 1699. He died in London, but was buried in the Church at Sandal Magna, near Wakefield, his ancestral home.

16. Richard Stretton (1632?–1712) was born at Claybrook, Leicestershire. Matriculated, 27th November, 1652 (signing Streaten), at New College, Oxford. B.A., 1655–6., M.A., 1658. Became Chaplain to the College. Received Presbyterian ordination at Arundel 26th October, 1658; and in the same year became curate to Dr. Francis Cheynel, who held the sequestered Rectory of Petworth, Sussex. Ejected 1660. Chaplain in Yorkshire to Thomas, Third Baron Fairfax, till the latter's death. Licensed 29th May, 1672, as Presbyterian teacher in the house of Francis Richardson, Cawood, Yorks. Subsequently ministered at Leeds. Removed to London, 1677, and ministered to a Presbyterian congregation in the Haberdashers' Hall, Staining Lane, Wood Street, Cheapside. Imprisoned 1683, for refusing the Oxford oath (1665) against endeavouring alteration in Church and State. He was an original manager of the Common Fund. He was very generous in furnishing books to students and academies. Stretton, who was one of the Lady Hewley Trustees, proposed (2nd June, 1712) to free the London Fund from its obligations in the five Northern Counties, but his co-trustees would not agree to the proposal. He died July 3rd, 1712, was buried in Bunhill Fields, and Matthew

Henry preached his funeral sermon from II. Cor., viii. 16. He published at least two works.

17. John Woodhouse (1627–1700). Third son of John Woodhouse, of Womborn Woodhouse, Staffs. Commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge, but did not matriculate. In 1662 was silenced when chaplain to Lady Grantham, in Nottinghamshire, unordained. The Episcopal Returns of 1689 report John Woodhouse, gent., as preaching at Saxelly, Leicestershire, to about fifty ordinary persons, denomination "not known." Had a large fortune by his wife, Mary Hubbert, of Reresby, Leicestershire. Conducted at Sheriff Hales, Salop, an Academy of note. Many students went to him with bursaries from the Presbyterian Fund; Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, was amongst his pupils. In 1697 he succeeded Samuel Annesley, D.D., as minister of Little St. Helens, London, still continuing to train ministers. Buried at Reresby, October 17th, 1700. Published three works.

18. Robert Harley, the first Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

19. John Hacket (1592–1670), born in St. Martin's, Strand, 1st September, 1592; was educated at Westminster School, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Matriculated 1609; A.B., 1612–3; A.M., 1616; S.T.B., 1623; S.T.D., 1628; Fellow immediately on taking his degree; Chaplain to Lord Keeper Williams; in 1621 inducted Rector of Stoke Hammond, Bucks., 20th September; and to Kirkby Underwood, 2nd November; incumbent St. Andrew's, Holborn, 1624–45; and Cheam, Surrey, 1624; Chaplain to King James, 1623; prebendary of Lincoln, 1623; archdeacon of Bedford, 1631; attempted to moderate Laud's zeal; as member of committee of religion made able speech before Commons in defence of deans and chapters, 1641; after Restoration resumed preaching at St. Paul's as canon residentiary; bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1661–70; restored Lichfield Cathedral, partly at his own expense; bequeathed money to Trinity College, Cambridge; and his books to the University.

In 1648 he published in Latin a comedy entitled "*Loyola,*" which was acted before King James; his great work was the life of Archbishop Williams; in company with Ben Jonson he translated Bacon's "*Essays*" into Latin. In 1675 there appeared "*A Century of Sermons, on several remarkable subjects,*" which was edited, with a memoir, by Thomas Plume. In 1671 a book called "*Christian Consolations*" was wrongly attributed to him.

20. Widow of Richard Heath. Educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. Great Oriental scholar. Corrected the Arabic and Syriac of the Polyglot Bible. Ejected 1662. Under the Five Mile Act he removed to Wellington, March 25th, 1666, and there

died on May the 28th following. Though he was learned and able, he printed nothing.

21. James Owen (1654–1706), born at Bryn, parish of Abernant, Carm. Second son of John Owen. His parents were Episcopalian Royalists, but all their nine children became Nonconformists. Having been grounded in Classics by James Picton, a Quaker, and at Carmarthen Grammar School, he studied philosophy (1672) under Samuel Jones. After acting as tutor, he spent six months with his godfather, James Howell, a clergyman. Deciding on Nonconformity, he went and studied at Swansea under Stephen Hughes. His first settlement was at Bodwell, Carm., his next as assistant to Hugh Owen. In November, 1676, he became chaplain to Mrs. Baker, of Swinney, near Oswestry, and minister of the Oswestry congregation founded by Roland Neavett. From this town he conducted a North Wales Mission which led to a public disputation with William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, at Oswestry, in 1681. In 1690 he opened an academy for ministerial training. The Presbyterian Common Fund granted him for Oswestry £8 a year from 1690–94, and then £5 a year until 1699. In 1700 he became colleague to Tallents, and removed his academy to Shrewsbury. Owen translated the Shorter Catechism into Welsh. He also had controversies with B. Keach and Thomas Gripps. Mr. Owen was the author of several works in both the Welsh and the English languages. In his dispute with Keach he issued in 1693 the first book in Welsh on the baptismal controversy, "*Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoedd*" (Infant baptism from Heaven). It was answered by Keach in 1696 in "*Light broke forth in Wales.*" He also wrote the account of the Welsh ejected ministers in Calamy.

22. John Evans, born at Great Sutton, near Ludlow. His father and grandfather were successively Rectors of Penegos, in Montgomeryshire. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford. Left the University rather than submit to the parliamentary visitors. Returned to Wales, ordained at Brecknock by Dr. R. Mainwaring, Bishop of St. Davids, on November 28th, 1648. Changed his views on Conformity. Admitted one of the itinerant preachers of Wales, and was successively master of the free schools of Dologelle and Oswestry. Ejected, 1662. Had to sell his library to provide for his family. Went to Wrenham. Chosen pastor of an Independent church there in February, 1668, and continued until his death in 1700.

23. John Evans (1680–1730), son of the last named. Born at Wrenham. Educated under the Revs. Thomas Rowe, Richard Frankland and Timothy Jollie. Lived for a time in the home of Mrs. Hunt, the sister of Lord Paget. Perused, under the direction of the aforenamed James Owen, the Christian writers of the first

three centuries : ordained, 1702, at Wrenham, as minister of a new Congregational church. Invited to Dublin, but dissuaded by Dr. Daniel Williams, whose assistant he became at Hand Alley, Westminster, until 1716. Then chosen his successor. Came to London an Independent but threw in his lot with the Presbyterians. Lecturer at Salters' Hall until 1716. In 1723 elected a Merchants' Lecturer at the same place. Edinburgh and Aberdeen Universities created him a D.D., both about the same time. He took a leading part in the Arian controversy, siding with those who refused to sign the Articles. In 1729 a new chapel was built for him in New Broad Street, Petty France, Westminster. Died 16th May, 1730, from dropsy and a complication of other disorders. Buried in Dr. Williams' vault, in Bunhill Fields. Wrote over twenty works, the most notable being his " Discourses on the Christian Temper," which passed through many editions.

24. George Long (1628–1712). Matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1646 ; Scholar, 1649 ; B.A., 1649–50 ; Fellow, 1650 ; M.A., 1653 ; deprived of his fellowship, 1660, because he refused conformity before they certainly knew the terms that would be fixed. Riding through Newcastle-under-Lyme, he found the people without a minister and preached. Invited to settle, which he did. Ejected, 1662. Qualified, M.D., at Leyden, and returned to practise medicine. In July, 1672, living at Leicester, and licensed as Presbyterian teacher " in any allowed place." After the revocation of the Indulgence he was successively driven by persecutions from Newcastle and Birmingham ; went to Ireland, returning 1689. He was at Darlington, and also at Coventry, in 1690, but apparently not as settled minister in either place. Returned to Newcastle about 1692 ; retired about Midsummer, 1705. Died at Bristol, December 26th, 1712. According to Calamy his retirement was necessitated by mental decay.

25. Francis Hutchinson (1660–1739), second son of Edward Hutchinson. Born 2nd January, 1660, at Carrington, Derbyshire. His mother was Mary Tallents, sister of Francis. Matriculated as a pensioner at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, 1678 ; B.A., 1680 ; M.A., 1684 ; Tallents directed his historical studies, and employed him, about 1680, in taking his MSS. of his " *View of Universal History* " to Stillingfleet, Beveridge, and Kidder, for correction before it was printed. He was Vicar of Hone, Suffolk ; before 1692 incumbent of Bury St. Edmunds. Besides several single sermons and small pamphlets he published " *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*," 1718 ; " *Life of Archbishop Tillotson*," also in 1718 ; " *Church Catechism in Irish*," 1722 ; and, in 1734, " *A Defence of the Ancient Historians*."

Arthur S. Langley.

## The Associate Congregations, London, 1805

ABOUT the beginning of the nineteenth century there were, in and around London, several Independent congregations which were not strictly Congregational. They generally used a more or less liturgical form of service, carefully avoided any appearance of antagonism to the Established Church, and were commonly called "Calvinistic Methodists," though not by any means to be confounded with the Welsh body so named. A few of these Societies are still flourishing, having been reorganized on the regular Congregational model; most of the others have long been extinct.

In 1805 a number of the aforesaid Calvinistic Methodist Societies entered into a union for mutual co-operation, to which they invited the adhesion of others that might be like-minded. In their "Address to the Religious Public" they expressed their opinion that "while each congregation is left to its own discretion in the choice of the form . . . Church order and discipline ought to be established in all; and especially with regard to the terms of admission to the Lord's Table, and expulsion from the benefit of Christian Communion." They claimed that union on such a basis was "countenanced by the Apostles and the usage of the Churches in the first ages of Christianity. . . . That the Church at Antioch considered itself connected with the general body of Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren meeting at Jerusalem; and therefore agreed to refer to their decision a point which . . . they could not amicably settle among themselves; choosing Paul and Barnabas and some others to be their representatives in the Council. From

the Apostolic age till the time when a corrupt Christianity usurped the civil authority of the State, individual Churches of the same district, or province, seem to have formed a general association among themselves; their Pastors or Bishops meeting in periodical Assemblies, and discussing those subjects which related to the common good of the Union, while every particular congregation (as Cyprian and others inform us) was deemed competent to the government of its own internal affairs." The Address proceeds to quote at length a noteworthy passage from Watts's "Rational Foundation of a Christian Church," in which the author maintains the legitimacy of *any* form of Ecclesiastical Polity, Democratic, Presbyterial, or Episcopal, on which a Christian Community may agree, subject to this one reservation :—"that though all the Churches in a nation should be united by their representatives, and call themselves one National Church, they could acquire no divine right or authority thereby to impose any new doctrines or practices in religion, any creed, or articles, or canons, or rules of worship of their own making, on any particular Church or person whatever, without their own consent."

The projectors of the Association desired to establish a Common Fund, which should be applicable

1. "To assist in defraying the expenses occasioned by the education of gifted and pious young men for the Gospel ministry." It was desired to provide for "all the dark villages of our Country, a well-informed and respectable Itinerant Ministry."

2. "The relief of our aged, afflicted, and destitute ministers, and occasionally of their widows and orphan children."

Quarterly and annual meetings were to be held, in which attention should be given to the welfare of particular congregations and plans formed "to extend the knowledge of Christ in our respective districts, and

measures concerted to promote the general progress of religion."

The signatories of this Address agreed, under the appended regulations, to form themselves into a general body, designated

THE ASSOCIATE CONGREGATIONS, *Comprehending that large body of Christians throughout the United Kingdom, who have been commonly called Calvinistic Methodists.*

## RULES.

i.—In order to facilitate the accomplishment of the grand objects of this associate body, a fund shall be raised by the united exertions of its various branches, for the purpose of affording aid in the instruction of godly and gifted young men who are to be devoted to the ministry:—for ameliorating the condition of ministers of limited incomes, who are members of this Association:—And also for the relief of their widows and orphan children.

ii. There shall be a Committee, a Treasurer, and a Secretary chosen annually, to whom all letters relative to the business of this Union shall be addressed.

iii. A meeting shall be held four times in the year (or oftener if advisable), viz., on the first Tuesday in January, April, July, and October, at each place of worship in rotation (in every district where it may be practicable) a sermon shall be preached by one of the pastors in the morning, and the afternoon of the day shall be devoted to the business of the Union. Besides the above, there shall be an Annual Meeting to be held on the Tuesday after the second Wednesday in May. Every minister or deputy of a congregation belonging to this Union has a right to vote at all the said meetings.

iv. No minister or congregation shall be admitted to this Union that does not profess to believe in the

Sovereign everlasting love of God the Father; the particularity and efficacy of the redemption of God the Son; the special and effectual sanctifying operations of God the Holy Ghost;—and that does not maintain the necessity of a strict conformity to the whole revealed will of God.

v. Every minister or congregation desiring to join the Association shall be proposed by a member, at a quarterly meeting; and provided a ballot of two-thirds of the members present be favourable to the proposal, such minister or congregation shall be admitted to the Union.

vi. Every Society shall be left to its own discretion as to the mode of public worship, and of admission to the Lord's Supper, as well as to expulsion. But we are decidedly of opinion, that no persons applying for membership should be admitted except the minister be satisfied of their real conversion and moral deportment.

vii. Every congregation in this Union shall be expected, on all occasions, to show a firm attachment to the person of our Sovereign, and to the Constitution of our country, under which we enjoy so many privileges.

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*The following are some of the Special Regulations of the* UNION.

I. All the business of the Union shall be attended to immediately after the public service.

III. The minister at whose place the service is held shall be chairman for the day.

IV. The afternoon shall be employed in the discussion of some theological subject, proposed at a prior meeting.

VI. We will sign no case for the erection or repair

of places of worship, but such as is sanctioned by the Union at their usual meetings.

VII. Every case presented must be accompanied by a testimonial, that the congregations and friends in the neighbourhood have actually subscribed at least one-third of the sum to be expended.

VIII. Every minister, or layman, presenting a case, must have testimony from the neighbouring ministers to the purity of his moral character.

IX. Every case must have had the pecuniary aid of those congregations whose ministers have joined in the recommendation.

X. Where these testimonials are presented the Union will not limit itself to any given number of cases yearly, nor bind itself to any rotation; as it is possible some cases may be more urgent than others.

*The Undersigned form the* COMMITTEE *of the* UNION *for the year* 1806, *to either of whom Subscriptions and Contributions for the general fund may be paid*:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Rev. JOHN BALL | (Jewry Street). |
| ROWLAND HILL | (Surrey Chapel). |
| THOS. JACKSON | (Stockwell). |
| E. J. JONES | (Silver Street and Islington Chapel). |
| J. A. KNIGHT | (Tabernacle and Tottenham Ct. Rd.) |
| THOS. LEWIS | (Islington, Union Chapel). |
| J. S. NICHOLSON | (Mulberry Gardens). |
| W. F. PLATT | (Holywell Mount). |
| JAS. SABINE | ? ? |
| MATT. WILKS | (Tabernacle, and Tottenham Ct. Rd.) |
| GRIFFITH WILLIAMS | (Gale Street). |
| JOHN DYER<br>WM. ROUT | Managers of Greenwich New Chapel. |

The first meeting of the "Associate Congregations" was held in Silver Street Chapel on 10th February, 1806, when Rev. John Ball preached on Romans xiv., 5 and 19 verses. A meeting described as "First Annual" was held in Surrey Chapel on 20th May in the same year, when Rev. Rowland Hill spoke on "Qualities Indispensable in the Successful Itinerant." But we can find no further trace of the Union, either in the Evangelical Magazine or elsewhere. It is worth noting that in the same year 1806 the first attempt was made to constitute a "General Union of Independents," really an incipient Congregational Union. This maintained a struggling existence for a few years, and was ultimately merged in the more efficient and vigorous Home Missionary Society; which—strange to say—was at length absorbed by the *new* Congregational Union of 1831.

T. G. Crippen.

## Letters of Dr. Philip and Mrs. Doddridge

[These two letters have been transcribed by the Rev. T. G. Crippen from a group of original letters, which has not previously been printed. Doddridge's letter contains one or two amusing touches ; " wch cost me 9d." is worthy of Pepys.]

## Letter of Mrs. Doddridge to Her Husband

[*June 17th*, 1745.]

My Dearest,

Every new proof of tenderness from a person so very dear to me must be agreeable ; such was your last, for which I most heartily thank you, and rejoice to hear you got so far well on yr journey. I hope and you may be asurd I sincerely pray yt every future stage of it may be equally safe and pleasant. I am sorry it was not in my power to comply with your request in writing to Lady Jane ; but Mr. Fergusson on his return, wh was not till . . . a clock found a letter from my Lord to inform him that . . . was waiting for him at Loffbourogh which determined him . . . early yesterday morning ; beside this Mrs. Stoonhouse stayd with me till ten in the evening ; after which, to say nothing of my spirits, which my Dear seems to have taken along with him it was impossible for my stomack to perform such a task. I received last night a very sensible and obliging letter from Mr. John Wainman, in which he expresses his great surpriss at ye three letters you mention in your posscript, as he never wrote any of ym, nor knows at all what they contain. As to his brother he say nothwithstanding what is past he should be glad to serve him, or to ingage any of his Friends to do it as far as he can consistent with Truth, honour & conscience ; he hears he has got a small charge, and if in his future behaviour he approve himself he shall be very thankful for your good offices, if ever it should be in your way to help him to something better. In the meantime he thought it is [*sic*] Duty to give you ys information, to clear himself, and to prevent your being impose [*sic*] upon in the affair : I am in some pain least yr interview with dear Miss Scott should to [*sic*] much oppress your spirits. I want extremely to know how she does ; and hope at least by Friday post to have ye pleasure of hearing of your safe arival at Norrich and allso of her better health. I beg you will asure her of my best wishes, & present both her & ye good old gentleman with my most affectionate complyments. Pray

take care of your dear self & of me [?] a Little in not exceeding y^e^ Limmet of y^e^ time you have fixd for your return; for really I find your absence peculiarly griefouss fo me in this state of confinement, tho I bless God I have been rather better y^s^ afternoon, than I . . . been since you Left me; & with that I shall conclude. I believe . . . ad nothing that will be more agreeable to you I shall content myself with wishing you a good-night and asureing you I am, My Dearest, most intirely and affectionately yours. M. DODDRIDGE.

Monday, June y^e^ 17, 1745.

P.S.—I hope my good Dear will write as often as he can. Y^e^ dear children are well & send duty. Many services atend you. My [*sic*] to all friends. I am sorry to hear you dont Take your horse.

## Letter of Dr. Doddridge to His Wife.

Cannon Street, July 25. 1747.
Sat Morning.

MY DEAREST LOVE,

On my return from Walthamstow yesterday in the afternoon in the Company of Dr. Grosvenor in a good Ladies Coach, I had the joy to receive you [r] two most affectionate and obliging Letters for each of which I return you a thousand Thanks. I am glad if any of mine can in any Degree entertain you, & I look upon it as a great proof of your Love to y^e^ Writer when I consider how very little there is in them; but truly I write in such Hast at odd Times & amidst so many Interruptions that it is the less to be wondered at that they are often so empty and some times so short, tho as our good Friend says I could wish to write a Volume to you. I am much Comforted my Dear to find you are well & your Spirits a little revived: if my being perfectly well & you being however absent in Body hourly present with me in Thought can contribute to keep them up I see no Sign of their Sinking. But indeed my two last Days have been so peaceful & sweet a Recess at Walthamstow in the midst of such kind amiable Friends, who have thought themselves so much obliged to me for receiving obligations from them that I had almost every Advantage for being well that you could your Dear Self have wished me: & had I been in any Danger of forgetting you, their Affectionate Friendship wh. engaged them at almost every Meal to drink your Health, and often to say the most respectful Things of you, would have prevented my being able to do it. Tis a pleasure to me to hear you are so agreeably entertained w^th^ y^e^ Company of your Friends in my Absence; and especially that you take so much care of your Health, on which under God so much of the Happiness of my Life

depends. Accept therefore my best Thanks for that Care. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing Mr. and Mrs. Roome, but hope for it on Monday on my Way to Mr. Lyttelton with whom I am to dine by an appointment made by a Letter w^ch^ I exchanged w^th^ him last Night on receiving his inclosed in yours w^ch^ cost me 9d. The Portmanteau is come safe, good Mr. Jackson was so kind that he fetched it himself. He and the Family send you their best Services. I am just going to open it and shall take immediate care of its Contents. I am always glad to hear y^e^ Dear Children are well. Mr. Johnston whom I met yesterday at Mr. Parker's brought me news that you were well on Monday, and that he met Philly on his way to Harborough, where he was very sorry that he could not stay to receive him. I hope you will this Day receive the Sugar about which I know that immediate and repeated Orders were given. As for Shoes and Gloves, they are to be met w^th^ in London, and as I have recd Mr. Graham's Bill I am in no immediate need of that which answereth all Things. As I would willingly have my Cane in Town, where I shall want it in every Journey, & would not buy More gloves than are necessary you may if you please send it, unless it w^d^ occasion y^e^ additional Expence of a Case, of w^h^ I think there is already one. You understand my Dear I w^d^ not have my best w^ch^ is in y^e^ Trunk but y^e^ lighter cane w^th^ y^e^ Pinchbeck head which is in the Parlour or at least used to be there. I heartily wish your apprehension of Disturbance from Mr. K. may not appear too well grounded, but he really behaved very well at St. Albans. It will be a great Concern to our Friends there as well as to me that you cannot meet me there according to our proposal, & so much the rather as it will disconcert my whole Scheme. However, I am ready to think that on the whole it will be y^e^ Cheapest way for Matthew to bring my Horse thither on Wednesday Fortnight, that I may return on Thursday if the Weather be good and you hear Nothing to y^e^ Contrary. If Mr. Hoghton, to whom I desire my particular Services, stay at Northampton during Mr. Robertson's Absence, I beg he would have an Eye on poor Mr. Kennedy. I have little news to send you but what y^e^ papers contain, on the goodness of which as to y^e^ Victory in Italy I congratulate you. Of poor Mr. Raymond nothing is heard, w^h^ suggests the most terrifying Fears. I am astonished to observe and hear with how much serenity & Christian Fortitude the Calamity is born [*sic*] by his Lady and our Walthamstow Friend, while it is felt w^th^ the utmost Tenderness. How thankful am I to God that you My Dearest Creature are not in y^e^ like anxiety & Distress, tho perhaps few in y^e^ world would bear such a circumstance in a more exemplary Manner. I heartily recommend you to continued Divine Protection and support, and am, my Dearest. Yours w^th^ all possible Tenderness. P.D.

[*Postscript*]

I have now stripd the Portmanteau of its Covering, and impute it entirely to the Greatness of your Love or mine either that you, my Dear, have not sent the Key or that I, unenlightened with the Lustre of your Eyes, am not able to find it. I am the more concerned as I must break it open, not being able to stay for the Contents till Mr. Robertson comes to Town. It is very agreeable to me to hear that good Dr. Stonhouse is like to buy a House at Northampton. My Compliments attend him and his Lady. I shall remember the Memorandum I made in my last, tho I have not yet had an opportunity of despatching any of that Business having been only a few Hours in Town.

. . . . . .

Having now broke open the Lock, to our great amusement we found the Key withinside. This threw us into great Astonishment, till at length I conjectured that possible [*sic*] the Lock might shoot in the passage, for that it was really fast Locked is most certain.

Since I wrote this I made a Visit to Newington, where I found Dr. Watts much better than I expected, and Lady Abney, Miss [*sic*], Mrs. Richiere, and Miss Ashurst, as also Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, Miss Cooke and Miss Dolings all very well. This last good Lady brought me part of y^e^ way Home in her Chariot. I called on Dr. Guyse. Many Services attend you. I bless God I continue very well, eat light Suppers, & rise rather earlier than at Home, to which you, my Dear, owe your long Letters.

We hear nothing of poor Mr. Raymond, wh suggests the most terrible Fears. May God support our good Friends. I am very apprehensive that the Severest part of their Trial is behind. [?]

Assure my Dear Friends at Northampton that I often think of them and am daily praying for them.

[Address]

To Mrs. Doddridge
in Northampton.

HECKMAN
BINDERY INC.
JAN 91
N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962